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A

VIEW

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

Entered in Stationers-Hall.

A

VIEW

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

In its former Happy, and its preſent Belligerent STATE.

BEING

A COMPENDIOUS DESCRIPTION of the ſeveral CULTIVATED COLONIES, previous to theſe Diſturbances.

ALSO

The RISE, PROGRESS, and EFFECTS of the WAR with GREAT-BRITAIN; the Proceedings of CONGRESS, and the Diſpoſitions of the PEOPLE on that Occaſion.

WITH

The TRAVELS and ADVENTURES of the AUTHOR, through great Part of that CONTINENT, in the Years 1774, 75, 76, 77, and 78.

CONTAINING

A CONCISE ACCOUNT of the INDIANS; the Natural PRODUCE of the COUNTRY, in its ORIGINAL STATE; the Manner of PROCURING and SETTLING of Land; with the Various EXPEDITIOUS METHODS of CLEARING and IMPROVING PLANTATIONS.

WITH WHICH IS CONNECTED,

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR WITH GREAT-BRITAIN.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit. HOR.

GLASGOW:

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MDCCLXXXI.

THE PREFACE.

THE Subſequent CONCISE Deſcription of North America; the Hiſtory of the War ſubſiſting there; with my own TRAVELS through great part of that Continent, being drawn up from my Sentimental and Obſervatory JOURNAL; and having been read in Manuſcript by ſome of the greateſt Luminaries in Modern Literature, is now reſpectfully ſubmitted to the candid peruſal of the ingenuous World.

THE favourable opportunities which preſented themſelves to me, of being thoroughly acquainted with the various Subjects herein delineated, induced me to imagine, that the obſervations of one, who has been preſent in moſt of the principal ſcenes of action, would be in ſome degree ſatisfactory.

FOR, having gone over to the new World, before the commencement of hoſtilities; and by an extraordinary diſpoſition of occurrences, as will appear in the ſequel, have been perfectly verſant in the country, in its ſeveral degrees of cultivation and maturity: beſides, in the progreſs of my peregrinations, having had occaſion, for a conſiderable time, to be an inhabitant of the new Settlements, on the banks of the great OHIO; and there to explore thoſe vaſt and extenſive regions, yet uninhabited, and in their original ſtate, as well as to be ſometime among the Indian nations, or natives of that country.

AND when, in the courſe of ſubſequent events, that once happy CONTINENT came to be involved in all the horrors and calamities of an internal war, I had not only an opportunity of obſerving the graduated diſſemination of enthuſiaſm and rancour, but was perſonally preſent in ſome of the principal battles which have happened in the progreſs of this unhappy conteſt.

BUT, in order to elucidate the THEME, it will here be neceſſary to obſerve, that the various incidents herein exhibited, are ſeverally introduced, according to the time in which they reſpectively occured; and are conciſely diſcuſſed, with ſuch a degree of perſpicuity, impartiality, and candour, as every unbiaſſed peruſer ſhall ſee proper to admit.

IN proſecution of which ſyſtem, the uncommonly elegant city of PHILADELPHIA is minutely deſcribed; and the various internal regulations, and way of living of the inhabitants in the ſeveral cultivated Colonies, previous to theſe diſturbances, or in their former happy ſtate, are treated as worthy of particular attention.

THE Account of the beginnings and progreſs of the war, with the various opinions of all ranks of people in the Colonies on that occaſion, having been immediately taken from reality, is allowed, by the greateſt exiſtent judge of literary compoſi-

tion, to be "*conciſe and clear; and ſuch as bring "to mind all the principal incidents.*"

HAVING treated the ſeveral tranſactions of the war, as an intire neutral perſon, without conſidering myſelf in that capacity, a ſubject of either of the belligerent powers, I have conſequently avoided the long winded paragraphs of private opinion; and, in their proper places, have inſerted ſome very intereſting ORIGINAL PAPERS, which not only become part of the ſubject, but are more expreſſive of the general ſpirit and ultimate deſign of the Coloniſts, than volumes that might have been wrote upon the ſubject.

THE Colonies of NORTH AMERICA, having now rendered themſelves conſpicuous all over Europe, it is to be preſumed, that the ſpirit of emigration, which ſo much prevailed at the commencement of the war, will immediately, on the eſtabliſhment of peace, break out with renovated vigour: and that myriads, who are now wreſtling with grim PENURY, will then ſeek an aſſy-

lium, and permanent inheritance, in that fertile and extenſive country.

BUT being experimentally ſenſible of the many inconveniencies, attending that of being *a ſtranger in a ſtrange land;* I have, in order to remove ſome of theſe difficulties, made ſuch an exhibition of the reception to be met with in that country, the manner of travelling into the NEW SETTLEMENTS, the way of knowing the quality of the land, and of the various ways and means of procuring, ſettling, and cultivating plantations, as my thorough knowlege of theſe very important, but hitherto neglected ſubjects, neceſſarily required.

ALTHOUGH in the courſe of theſe MEMOIRS, a punctual adherence to veracity and candour, may have exhibited different deſcriptions of perſons, in rather an unfavourable view; yet it is by no means to be taken in the general, but reſpectively applied to thoſe who may have acted unworthy of being connected with ſuch dignified or venerable departments in human life.

THE various employments in which I am neceſſarily engaged, and the brevity of the time in which this has been projected and finiſhed, have obliged me to ſacrifice ſublimity to perſpicuity, and to narrate almoſt extempore.—However, from indiſputable authority, I am induced to believe, it will be found to be *abundantly perſpicuous.*

BEING now upon the great ſtage of the world, in a literary character, alternately expoſed to the hiſſings or plaudits of variegated opinion, I have ventured, in this my firſt performance, to come forward in an anonymous manner, while I premiſe, that any nominal ſanction from me would be very immaterial; being as yet but little known in this country, except on the banks of the Forth: and the tenour of the whole being a ſeries of facts, which are not only evident of themſelves, but will compenſate for any inadvertency in compoſition or expreſſion.

ERRATA.

Page 18. l. 18. for crop'd, r. *croſſed.* p. 51. l. 26. f. PEYLON, r. *Peyton.* p. 98. l. 29. f. unimitting, r. *uninviting.* p. 101. l. 7. f. rigour, r. *vigour.*

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A

VIEW

OF

NORTH AMERICA, &c.

CHAP. I.

I embark for, and arrive at Philadelphia.—A deſcription of the ſituation, plan, houſes, ſtreets, public buildings, civil regulations, commerce and manufactures of that city;—with the genius, manners, laws, learning, and religion, of the inhabitants.—A deſcription of the ſoil, produce, ſpontaneous productions, fruits, and vegitables; tame and wild animals; reptiles and inſects; ſeaſons, air, and weather; with the houſes and policies, peculiar to the country.—The genius, manners, cuſtoms, and way of living of the country people;—their manner of working their plantations, and the various encouragement to induſtry.—A conciſe account of the ſeveral provinces, and of the country in general, in its then happy ſtate.

HAVING finiſhed my education, and made every other neceſſary preparation for my intended peregrinations, I embarked at Greenock, in

the beginning of the year 1774, for PHILADELPHIA, in *North America;* and, after a paſſage of near ten weeks, in which we had ſome very ſevere ſtorms, I arrived at that very agreeable and elegant metropolis.—If my prepoſſeſſion was great in favours of this city, before I had ſeen it, I was no leſs ſurprized to find my expectations ſo far ſurpaſſed, by the real grandeur and regularity of that very populous and flouriſhing emporium of commerce.

It is ſituated between two navigable rivers, the DELAWARE and the SCHUYLKILL, a few miles above the point where the rivers unite, and about one hundred miles from the ocean.—The plan of the city extends the whole breadth between the two rivers (which is two miles) by a number of ſtreets, parallel to each other; the midmoſt of which, or high-ſtreet, is 100 feet wide, and the reſt 30.—Theſe are again crop'd at right angles, by an equal number of ſtreets of the ſame breadth; and forming exact ſquares, containing ſeveral acres of land each.—It is at preſent built the whole breadth of the plan, extending along the Delaware near two miles, and reaching only about half way towards the Schuylkill; the reſt being nothing more as yet, than a beautiful common, interſperſed with a few gentlemen's ſeats, built upon the plan.

The ground, upon which the city ſtands, has a gradual, but very gentle aſcent from the river; which greatly adds, not only to the beauty, but ſalubrity of the town.—The houſes are cloſs built, in ſtreight lines along the ſides of the ſquares, moſtly three or four ſtories high, of very handſome made bricks; one half of which being leaded black,

and built in form of a checker-board, diſplay a moſt elegant appearance; particularly, by the reflection of the ſun, moſt of the door-poſts and lintels being of marble, which is pretty plenty all over the country. Each houſe has a lot of ground contiguous to itſelf, within the ſquare, for courts, gardens, and other conveniences. — The ſtreets are quite ſtreight, and well laid, having a broad pavement on each ſide, properly defended from carriages, and is clean waſhed every morning.

The moſt remarkable public buildings are, the STATE-HOUSE, where the ſupreme court of the Province is held; the HOSPITAL, and the NEW-GOAL, entirely built of beautiful free ſtone: all magnificent beyond any thing that may be expected in ſuch a new country.—There is alſo the ALMS-HOUSE, the WORK-HOUSE, and the BARRACKS, very elegant ſtructures. But the grand public building, which particularly commands the wonder and admiration of every ſtranger is, the MARKET-HOUSE, which runs all along the middle of great part of Broad-ſtreet, upon a double row of elegant columns, covered by a handſome ceiled roof; and, on market-days, ſtored with ſuch plenty of meat, poultry, and vegitables, with every other neceſſary of life, as is almoſt incredible to thoſe who have never viſited that fertile country.—The numerous houſes for public worſhip, alſo compoſe a very reſpectable part of the public buildings; their lofty ſteeples, containing a ſet of great bells, equalled by few in Europe.

In each ſtreet are two rows of handſome lamps, which, when lighted, diſplay an elegant appear-

ance; on account of the ſtreightneſs of the ſtreets, and levelneſs of the ground.—There is alſo a ſtrong and regular watch kept during the night, which call every half hour after eleven o'clock, and preſerve peace, and good order, in that great and populous city.

Having been ſome time in Philadelphia, and acquainted with a number of the principal merchants, I conſequently had an opportunity of learning the various movements of the great machinery of commerce, which enriched the active and induſtrious part of the inhabitants of that city.—It's HARBOUR extends the whole length of the town, along the Delaware, (which is here about a mile broad) by a chain of ſpacious quays, and commodious wharfs, to which veſſels of very large burthen may lay their broadſides, and diſcharge their cargoes into the merchants ſtores and ware-rooms, by the aſſiſtance of *cranes*, there erected for that purpoſe.

Notwithſtanding the navigation-act, they had, in a great meaſure, a free trade with almoſt all nations of the world, whither they exported vaſt quantities of proviſions and lumber; and received, in return, the various neceſſaries and luxuries of life, peculiar to thoſe countries.—From *Europe* they were ſupplied with the various articles of cloathing, and ſalt; with hard-ware, and ſome other artificial productions.—From the *Atlantic Iſlands*, they had plenty of excellent wine; and from the *Weſt-Indies*, they imported vaſt quantities of rum, ſugar, molaſſes, and coffee; with ſeveral other periodical productions, peculiar to thoſe fertile Iſlands.—With theſe, and other imported goods, they ſupplied the

flouriſhing Towns of NEWCASTLE, WILMINGTON, CHESTER, BURLINGTON, and TRENTON, upon the Delaware; with the populous inland Towns of LANCASTER, CARLISLE, YORK-TOWN, OXFORD, and READING.

From theſe, and the numerous country-ſtores, they received in return, the various produce of the country, which they ſent to the Weſt-Indies, and ſeveral nations in Europe, as payment of their imports.—They alſo employed a number of veſſels, in the Logwood trade, from the Bay of Honduras; and dealt to a conſiderable extent with the other provinces of America, beſides employing a number of boats in the Newfoundland fiſheries.

There were even found among thoſe ſons of *freedom* and *liberty*, perſons, whoſe inſatiable avarice led them into that inhumane and barbarous branch of commerce, of carrying ſlaves from the coaſt of Guinea to the *Weſt-Indies* and *Virginia*, where thoſe poor creatures (equally entitled to liberty, and the rights of mankind with their captors) were ſold to the higheſt bidder, and uſed by their maſters in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner.—Another deſcription of *ſoul-drivers*, or dealers in men, were thoſe, who brought over ſhip loads of Iriſh indented ſervants, which they ſold in the country, to an amazing advance upon what they had coſt them.——There were alſo itinerant adventurers, who drove out numbers of horſes, loaded with rum, trinkets, and coarſe European manufactures, to the Indian nations, where they bartered them for ſkins and furs, with thoſe credulous and ignorant people, to an inconceivable advantage.

Ship-building was carried on there in the greateſt nicety and perfection, and conſtituted a conſiderable part of their commerce.—Theſe they generally ſent out loaded with the produce of the country, and ſold the veſſel as well as the cargo.——There were in Philadelphia ſome very extenſive rum diſtilleries, a porter brewery, and a ſugar-houſe.

Their dwelling-houſes were done off in the moſt elegant and convenient manner; and almoſt every houſe may be ſaid, to have a pump of fine freſh water at or near its door.—Money of all nations was current there: they had no ſpecie of their own, but a paper currency ſtruck by order of the Provincial Aſſemblies.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, and the country in general, ſeemed to be eminently poſſeſſed of the agreeable and engaging qualities of their Engliſh anceſtors.—Hoſpitality, and candour, were principal ingredients in the compoſition of their genius.—They were naturally active, lively, and affectionate, and ſpoke the Engliſh language in its greateſt perfection and purity.—They were particularly poſſeſſed of an openeſs of manner, and polite freedom of behaviour, which is exceedingly agreeable to ſtrangers, and is the natural effects of the laudable liberty they enjoyed, and the undiſtinguiſhable equality which reigned among all ranks of well-behaved people.—Good qualities, and a proper behaviour, were only neceſſary for procuring reſpect and eſteem; and even places of public truſt: in theſe, property was no way eſſential, unleſs attended with merit in the poſſeſſor.

The generous and charitable diſpoſitions of the

Americans, induced them to think favourably of every perſon, whoſe appearance was agreeable, and to ſuppoſe them entitled to all the reſpect and privileges of proper members of Society, till ſuch time as they were fully convinced of the contrary; and when that happened to be the caſe, no ſucceſs in the world, or any pecuniary conſideration, could prevent perſons of an irregular or incontinent behaviour, from falling under the general odium and contempt, of all ſenſible and creditable people.

Pride, arrogance, and haughty indigence, had been frequently tranſported thither; but finding themſelves abhorred, and contemned, by that ſociable and courteous people, they had either taken refuge among the negroe-drivers, and petty ſtore-keepers in Old Virginia, or languiſhed away in ſolitude, and inactive obſcurity.

Their public diverſions diſplayed the greateſt politeneſs and harmony, while every perſon ſeemed more attentive to the rules of good breeding, and dues of ſociety, than another.—But as it is an allowed fact, that noxious weeds will ſprout up, even in the moſt ſalubrious clime, and cultivated ſoil; ſo, there were even found in America, as well as in other places, perſons poſſeſſed of a prepoſterous, inconſiſtency of thought, who affected to ſupply the deficiency of their real conſequence in life, by a pretended importance, which ſoon became obvious, and rendered them not only deſpicable, but exceedingly ridiculous.

No country whatever, could boaſt of a more equitable ſyſtem of laws, than exiſted in moſt of the Britiſh colonies in America.—They were not

only mild and ſalutary, but in every reſpect, fully adapted to the ſecurity of civil and religious liberty. —Their political ſyſtem conſiſted of the governor and council; a provincial aſſembly elected by the people; with juſtices of the peace, and inferior magiſtrates, much of the ſame nature with thoſe in England.—All trifling differences, were generally referred to wiſe and prudent arbitrators; which prevented the many unneceſſary law-ſuits, that might otherwiſe have enſued.

Among various other ſalutary regulations, it was enacted, That all bankrupts, or inſolvent debitors, ſhould be ſold, or indented, to ſerve in whatever employment they were capable of, for ſuch a time as would fully indemnify their maſters, for advancing the ſum due to their creditors.—And by the general induſtrious diſpoſition of the people, and their legiſlators, it was alſo provided, That all orphans, or poor children, ſhould be bound out in proper families till they were of age, where they were maintained, clothed, and educated, and were learned ſuch trades or employments, as their genius and diſpoſition ſeemed moſt naturally inclined to.

Although, by the legiſlation of that country, theft was only puniſhable by fining; yet, by the general induſtry, and eaſy circumſtances of the people, it was ſeldom known to be put in practice. —It was further provided, That if any unmarried perſon, ſhould debauch or impregnate any young woman of character, he ſhould either be obliged to marry her, or pay ſuch a fortune, as it could be made evident, her parents were able to give her, or ſhe might otherwiſe be poſſeſſed of.

Taxes were almoſt ſtrangers in that country: one of a very ſingular nature, I remember of, although at that time too young to feel its effects, which was an annual impoſt, upon young men of every deſcription, from the age of twenty-one till they were married.—This had been previouſly intended, to encourage population, but was anticipated by the natural ſociality of the people.

Learning had arrived to a tolerable degree of proficiency, in that country. — They had ſeveral very flouriſhing UNIVERSITIES, and other ſeminaries of learning; and few places could produce men of brighter geniuſes, or more correct and animated writers than America.

Although, in moſt of the provinces, there was no eſtabliſhed religion; yet no country whatever, poſſeſſed more of the peace, harmony, and charity, peculiar to the reality of that very amiable, and neceſſary quality.

In Philadelphia were three very elegant churches, where the Engliſh ſervice was regularly performed; five or ſix Preſbyterian meeting-houſes; a Jewiſh ſynagogue; a magnificent Popiſh chapel; a great many Quaker meeting-houſes, and places of worſhip, for religious profeſſions, of every denomination. — But no ſect having any legal ſuperiority, they were conſequently upon a par, and were emulous to outſhine one another, in piety, virtue, and benevolence; and ſupported their reſpective clergy with the greateſt tranquillity.

As I had frequent opportunities of exploring the country, I made ſeveral tours through the Jerſeys,

as well as through the interior parts of Pennſylvania and Maryland, which I found, to my great amazement, abounded with every thing neceſſary or deſirable in life, to ſuch a degree, as is almoſt beyond the power of deſcription.

The Colonies of North America are, for the moſt part, exceedingly level, for more than one hundred miles back from the ocean; having only gradual aſcents, ſufficient to convey the numberleſs freſh water ſprings, into the ſeveral fine large navigable rivers, moſt of which riſe in the Apalachian or Alliginay mountains.

The country is originally covered with excellent wood, of a moſt enormous ſize and altitude; the different ſpecies of which, with the manner of ſettling and clearing of land, I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to deſcribe, when I come to the new ſettlements and frontier country.—It is now tolerably clear, and well fenced, for about two hundred miles back from the ocean; and the ſoil being of a black dry mould, without being manured, produces excellent wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, beans and peas, with a few oats, which they ſow for their horſes; although they do not thrive in that warm climate.—There is alſo, in the greateſt perfection and plenty, every ſpecies of roots, flowers, and vegitables, to be found in any garden or hot-bed in Europe.

The woods are well ſtored with wild-grapes, ſtraw-berries, plumbs, and mulberries, with other ſpontaneous fruits and berries.—Fruits of all kinds ſeem natural to this country; apples, pears, cherries, and peaches, grow in incredible plenty. The

trees require no grafting; and the fruit is much more delicious and rich, than that in Great Britain.

Almoſt every farmer has ten acres, or ſo, of an orchard, for the uſe of his family; the fruit of which, is free to every one who pleaſes.—The public roads are generally lined with apple, peach, and cherry-trees, which not only afford an agreeable ſhade, but a cooling repaſt to the weary traveller.—Hemp and flax were conſiderable articles in their produce; the ſeed of the latter they carefully preſerved, and exported to Europe.—Hops ſeem to be natives of this country; and all kind of garden ſtuffs come to great perfection.

Almoſt every ſpecies of European animals have been tranſported thither; which generally degenerate in ſize and ferocity, but acquire a greater degree of mettle and ſagacity. Thoſe moſt in uſe, are horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs; the latter of which, they have in amazing numbers.—Poultry are alſo ſurprizingly plenty; ſuch as turkeys, geeſe, hens, and ducks.

Wild beaſts and reptiles are moſtly baniſhed from the old ſettlements; but theſe I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to deſcribe, when I come to the new ſettlements, and Indian country. However, there ſtill remain ſeveral ſorts of quadrupeds, fowls, and inſects: the moſt remarkable of which, is the *polecat*, whoſe urine is of ſuch a nauſeous and abominable nature, that when he throws it upon a traveller, (which he can do with great dexterity,) the approach of the unlucky perſon is diſagreeably proclaimed, even at a great diſtance; and his preſence

carefully avoided by all, till ſuch time as he rids himſelf of the unſavoury perfume; which can be effected no other way, than either totally ejecting the cloaths beſprinkled, or burying them for a conſiderable time under ground.

There are yet variety of ſquirrels, of different ſorts; which are little cleanly animals, with long buſhy tails, and can leap, with ſurprizing agility, from one tree to another. They live moſtly upon walnuts, cheſnuts, and hickery nuts; but often loſe their lives, for making too free with the planters corn.

Wild geeſe and ducks are indifferently ſcarce in the old ſettlements; but pigeons are exceedingly plenty in the fall of the year.—The birds in this country are amazingly beautiful; but not ſuch delightful ſongſters as thoſe in Great-Britain. The nightingales and humming-birds make very agreeable muſic, with the numberleſs ſwarms of bees, which lodge in the trunks of hollow trees; and are frequently robbed of large quantities of honey by the country people.——In the ſummer evenings, the owls, bull-frogs, tree-frogs, and other reptiles and nocturnal beaſts, make a moſt confuſed and hideous noiſe.

The ſeaſons in this country are regular and ſettled; the ſky almoſt perpetually clear; and the air not only exceedingly pure, but very ſalubrious.—The ſpring begins about the firſt of April, which is an agreeable month. About the beginning of May the trees put out, and almoſt every ſpecies of vegitables begin to make their appearance. The

months of June, July, and Auguſt, are almoſt intolerably hot; and generally attended with awful and terrifying fulminations. In September, the weather begins to be tolerably mild; which, with October and November, are by far the moſt pleaſant months in the year.—The winter begins about the middle of December, and continues moſt intenſely cold till the beginning of March, which often ends with large quantities of ſleet and rain.

Their houſes in the country are generally two ſtories high; laid out in the moſt elegant, taſty, and convenient manner. The firſt houſe upon a plantation is always of wood: when they find it convenient, they build a new one of ſtone or bricks, of which, there is a number of very handſome buildings in the old ſettlements.—Their barns, ſtables, and other office-houſes, are alſo laid out exceedingly convenient. All the clear land is well fenced, and the fields laid off exactly ſquare, moſtly in ten acres.—The cattle run at large in the woods, and come home regularly for milking, and other purpoſes.

The people in the country poſſeſs an accumen and vivacity incident to the climate; and are naturally free, open, and polite in their manner, as well as hoſpitable and generous in their diſpoſitions. The greateſt ſociality, harmony, and unity, prevail among all ranks of free, well-behaved white people.—The richeſt planter in Pennſylvania, has never more than one table; at which he, and all white ſervants, promiſcuouſly ſit down.

Their dreſs is entirely adapted for utility and eaſe; and varies according to the ſeaſon of the

year. Their fewel is excellent wood, properly cut up for the purpoſe; of which they make very large fires in winter, but generally have none in their houſes in ſummer. Their tables are always genteelly covered, and plentifully ſupplied with every thing neceſſary in life; towards the affluence of which, their orchyards greatly contribute, by affording them plenty of apples for every purpoſe, all the year round. Of part of the apples, they make large quantities of cyder; and of them and the peaches, they make excellent ſpirits: while large quantities are either ate up by the hogs, or left to rot on the ground. They have plenty of butter and cheeſe through the whole courſe of the year, by preſerving their milk in ſummer, in earthen veſſels, immerſed in cool ſpring-houſes made for the purpoſe.

All manner of farming work is done there, with the greateſt nicety and diſpatch. They have arrived at the greateſt proficiency in plowing, reaping, and cutting of wood. Their harveſt begins in July, and laſts but a very ſhort time. As ſoon as a field of grain is ripe, the owner procures as many hands as will reap it in a day, allowing one hand to an acre. The ridges being only ſix furrows, each reaper takes one, and the beſt are put foremoſt, which cauſes them work with ſuch emulation and ſpirit, that weak hands have been known to expire on the ſpot, rather than be outdone.

In the month of September they ſow the wheat, and rye, and plough it with a little light plough, of a very nice conſtruction, drawn by two horſes, which are drove by the ſame perſon that holds.—

There is a ſort of barley which is ſown in the fall of the year, and an early ſort which is ſown in the ſpring.

No country whatever, could be more advantageous or agreeable, for induſtry in general, than this. Almoſt every deſcription of mechanics, or tradeſmen, were greatly wanted; and met with encouragement, even exceeding their moſt ſanguine expectations. — Labourers or workmen, were in amazing demand, particularly, in the country; where they lived in ſuch affluence, eaſe, liberty, and reſpect, as is altogether inconceivable to thoſe practiſing ſimilar employments in Europe.

Expert workmen in farming, never engaged by the time, but took work by the piece; ſuch as, clearing a field, or making of fence rails; and always lived at their employer's houſe, while a-doing the job; where they ſat at the table with, and fared in the ſame manner as the maſter of the family. But it was generally the caſe, that new incomers, or labourers unacquainted with the nature of the country, hired by the month, or the day, for ſome time at firſt. And thoſe who were under the diſagreeable neceſſity of going over indented or bound, for the triffling conſideration of their paſſage, were obliged to work for ſome years, for nothing more than their cloathing, and alone bore the appellation of ſervants; although they alſo ſat at the table with their maſters: and, at the expiration of their time, received a ſuit of new cloaths, a new ax, and ſome other implements, when they commenced freemen, and undertook work for themſelves, till ſuch time as they found it convenient to go out to the new

ſettlements, and take up, or otherwiſe procure, a plantation of their own.

The preceeding deſcription, may, with very little variation, be applied to all the middle colonies of North America, except Virginia, where the principal produce is tobacco; the raiſing of which, employed a vaſt number of ſlaves, which were ruled, or kept in ſubjection, by a ſet of perſons, not altogether replete with humanity, and common ſenſe.

The tobacco, when raiſed, was either ſold, or bartered to ſtore-keepers; a great many of whom were agents or clerks for merchants in Britain, and ſtill retained an enormous quantity of the diſtinctions peculiar to their native country.

The church of England had been eſtabliſhed in Virginia, with a free toleration to every profeſſion; yet notwithſtanding of which, the generality of the people lived in the moſt abandoned profligacy, and open wickedneſs.

The Carolinas, owing to their ſouthern ſituation, have much warmer and longer ſummers than the middle provinces: their winter is ſo very mild, that the ſnow ſeldom withſtands the heat of the meridian ſun. Their principal produce is indigo and rice; although almoſt every ſpecies of grain is raiſed in tolerable perfection. Scarcely any place in America is more replete with ſpontaneous productions, of fruits and vegitables, of almoſt every kind, than this. Their horſes, cattle, and hogs, frequently run wild in the woods; and it is very common for one planter to have two or three hundred of each kind.

The provinces of New-England differ very little

from the middle colonies in produce, and internal regulations; but, on account of their northern ſituation, have longer and colder winters; although their ſummer is almoſt as warm as in New-York, which is much the ſame with Pennſylvania and its neighbouring colonies, already deſcribed.

Poverty was almoſt a ſtranger in that happy country; and whoever happened to be unfortunately reduced, and were unable to work, were always bountifully provided for, by the county in which he lived.

Thus that happy people lived, rolling in eaſe, liberty, and affluence, with every other bleſſing of life. But as theſe are often productive of pride, with all its hideous train of diſcontent, ſelf-importance, and ingratitude; ſo, to theſe may be aſcribed part of the riſe of theſe unhappy diſturbances, which have not only torn the huſband from his loving wife, the parent from the beloved children, the brother from the darling ſiſter, and the friend from his endearing confident; but has raiſed thoſe State-convulſions, which have not only ſhaken the Britiſh empire from its loweſt baſis, but ſet all Europe in a political flame.—A proper inveſtigation into, and diſcuſſion of the riſe, progreſs, and effects of which, ſhall employ great part of the ſubſequent theme.

CHAP. II.

The cauſes, and political ſprings, of the war between Great-Britain and America.—The ſtampt-act impoſed, but is obſtinately refuſed by the Americans, and repealed.—New duties impoſed in America, and cuſtom-houſes eſtabliſhed in the principal ſea-port towns, which produce great animoſities.—New acts of parliament reſpecting America: the effects thereof among the people.—All the duties in America removed, except three-pence on the pound of tea.—Troops ſent over to enforce the authority of the Exciſe-men.—The tragical effects thereof in the city of Boſton.—Tea ſent to Boſton, and deſtroyed by the populous.—New acts of parliament intended for humbling the Coloniſts.—They are alarmed and enflamed by their ambitious leaders.—Their ſeveral reſolutions and agreements.—They call a general Congreſs, which meet at Philadelphia.—Their firſt reſolves.—They petition the king, and addreſs the people of Great-Britain.—The general ſpirit of the Americans, on that occaſion.—Provincial Congreſſes and Committees eſtabliſhed through the ſeveral Colonies.

IN order to delineate the cauſes, and political ſprings, of the unhappy diſputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies; it will be found neceſſary, to take a retroſpect view of matters, ſince the impoſition of the ſtamp-act, in the year 1764, which firſt arouſed the jealouſy and reſentment of the Coloniſts.

The advocates for, and againſt, the propriety of this proceeding, have ſent forth ſuch forcible thunderbolts of argument, that it will be found difficult for impartial people, to determine on either ſide of the queſtion.

The miniſterial orators urged, "That conſidering the opulence and eaſy circumſtances of the Americans, with the protection they received, and the immenſe blood and treaſure they had coſt the parent ſtate, it was no more than reaſonable, that they ſhould bear a part of the burden which lay ſo heavy upon the mother country: and that, a direct taxation was in ſome meaſure neceſſary, in order to aſſert, and maintain, the prerogative of Great-Britain, over thoſe vaſt and extenſive dominions."

In anſwer to theſe, the friends of America, and thoſe in the oppoſition, argued, "That the anceſtors of the Americans had fled, from a cruel perſecution, to thoſe wild and barbarous deſarts, where they had ſettled under the greateſt difficulties; and, by indefatigable induſtry, had procured to themſelves a comfortable and plentiful ſubſiſtence; but could by no means be ſaid to be rich, as great part of their apparent opulence, belonged to merchants in Britain: and as for what expence the crown had been at, in that country, it had been more intended to protect and extend its own dominions, than for any good to them. And that, even in the late war, they had contributed more towards their own protection, than had been allowed to be ſufficient by the parliament itſelf."

They further alledged, "That the Americans,

even then, contributed greatly towards the ſupport of the crown, by being confined to the Britiſh market for goods which were already taxed: And that a direct impoſition of taxes, in that country, was not only impolitic, but unconſtitutional.—It was impolitic, ſo long as they had it in their power, by confining their trade, to tax them to any amount they pleaſed; and unconſtitutional, to tax them as Britiſh ſubjects, without being repreſented in parliament: neither could it be expected that they would tamely ſubmit to ſuch a plain violation of the Britiſh conſtitution."

Notwithſtanding of the foregoing arguments, the act paſſed, and was ſent over to America, to be put in execution; where it met with ſuch a violent oppoſition, as rendered its enforcement abſolutely impracticable, without having recourſe to arms; which, at that time, was not thought prudent.

A change in the miniſtry having previouſly happened, in the year 1766, the Stampt-Act was repealed, to the univerſal joy of the Americans, and their friends at home.

This was no ſooner done, than it was exclaimed againſt, as inconſiſtent with the ſpirit and dignity of the Britiſh nation: and that, yielding to the Americans in one point, was in effect the giving up of all.—The parliament, therefore, on the enſuing year, in order to ſecure the dependency of the colonies upon the mother country, paſſed an Act to bind the Americans in all caſes: and, in a ſhort time after, impoſed a new duty upon tea, glaſs, paper, and painter's colours, to be ſent to America;

and accordingly, eſtabliſhed cuſtom-houſes at Boſton, and other principal ſea-port towns.

But as the Americans were determined at all events, to pay no taxes impoſed by any other power than their own legiſlators; ſo, they obſtinately oppoſed the execution of theſe new acts, and proceeded to ſuch violent meaſures, as obliged the numerous exciſemen, who had been ſent over to collect the cuſtoms, to fly for refuge, on board the ſhips of war, and other places of ſafety.

The parliament, thus finding their authority deſpiſed and contemned in America, thought proper to reviſe a ſtatute of king Henry VIII. by which, perſons accuſed of treaſon, or other capital crimes in America, were to be brought over to Great-Britain to be tried.

The powerful and ſhining orators, in oppoſition, repreſented this, and the binding the Americans, in all caſes, "as not only inconſiſtent with Britiſh liberty, and the laws of the realm, (which allow every perſon to be tried in their own country, by their peers;) but as bold advances towards an abſolute dominion; and that ſomething more was intended by ſuch proceedings, than the welfare of the Britiſh empire. For it could not be ſuppoſed, that a poor man in America, could tranſport himſelf acroſs the Atlantic, and bring with him all his exculpatory proof, in order to defend a plea, in a country, where his character and ſituation, could never be properly known, and the people were already prejudiced againſt him.

After much altercation, in the year 1770, the the parliament removed all the duties impoſed in

America, except *three pence* a pound upon tea, which was determined to be enforced at all events, and appeared to have been reſerved, more for maintaining the ſovereignty of Great-Britain over the Colonies, than for any emolument to the Crown; as it was by no means ſufficient, to ſatisfy the tax-gatherers, ſent thither to collect it, whoſe authothority was now obliged to be enforced by two regiments of troops ſtationed at Boſton, where the people ſeemed moſt ungovernable and outrageous.

This aſſeſſment met with no better reception in America, than all the former. The people now began to entertain a general diſtruſt and jealouſy of the Britiſh nation; and looked upon the Britiſh ſoldiers, as miſcreants, come over to rob them of their lawful rights and privileges: while, at the ſame time, the ſoldiers viewed the Americans as rebellious paltroons, who diſpiſed all law and authority, and muſt be ruled with a rod of iron.

Thus, reciprocal animoſity and inſult prevailed; which, at laſt, brought on that tragical ſcene, tranſacted by the inhabitants of Boſton, and a part of the Britiſh troops, in the following manner.

Some difference happening, between a Britiſh ſoldier, and ſome young men in Boſton; the ſoldier found it neceſſary, to fly to the main-guard for protection, which immediately turned out, and was, in a few minutes, ſurrounded by a numerous and outrageous mob, who proceeded to pelt them with ſticks and ſtones in a moſt unmerciful manner.

Captain Preſton, who that day was officer of the guard, ordered his men in a poſture of defence, with fixed bayonets; and endeavoured to perſuade

the populace of the impropriety of their behaviour, and the fatal conſequences, which of neceſſity might enſue.

While he diſplayed his eloquence to no purpoſe, one of the ſoldiers having received a contuſion by a ſtone from the mob, was enraged to ſuch a degree, that he fired upon his adverſary; which Capt. Preſton no ſooner obſerved, than he called to his men *not to fire*. But the enraged and exaſperated troops, miſtaking the word *fire* for a command, blazed away among the populace; which killed four promiſing young men and a malatto, beſides wounding nine or ten more.

Such unexpected ſeverity in proceeding, immediately damped the ſpirits of the aſſailants, who retired in the greateſt rancour and chagrin, threatning vengeance on the Britiſh troops, by the aſſiſtance of the country militia.

A new tomb was made for the unfortunate young men, and the day of their funeral obſerved with the moſt melancholly ſolemnity. — All the ſhops in the city were ordered to be ſhut; the bells tolled the whole day; and the corpſe of the four youths were attended to the place of interment, in ſolemn proceſſion, by a greater concourſe of people, than had ever been known to have aſſembled in that country.

The duty on tea having been reſerved as the teſt of American loyalty, three ſhips were accordingly ſent out by the Eaſt-India company, loaded with the devoted article, and arrived at Boſton about the end of the year 1773, intending to land their cargoes in ſpite of all oppoſition.—But, in this,

however, they were disappointed: for a number of the most enterprizing inhabitants of Boston, dressing themselves as Indians, boldly boarded the vessels, and taking out their cargoes, of this *bitter* and *noxious weed*, (as they called it,) threw it into the sea, without offering any violence to the masters and crews of the vessels; while it is somewhat remarkable, that the garrison of Fort-William, and armed ships in the harbour, were quite inactive on this occasion.

Several ships with tea had arrived at other ports in America, but were mostly allowed to return back to England with their cargoes, except some which had been also thrown into the sea at Carolina; and although at New-York it was landed under the canon of the war ships, yet it was obliged to be stored up from any farther use.

The news of these outrages in America, no sooner reached the parliament of Great-Britain, than they proceeded to such measures as they imagined would effectually humble the pride of the Bostonians, and establish peace and tranquillity through the whole Continent.

Three bills were accordingly brought in, and passed during that session; one *for blocking up the port, or harbour of Boston*, till they should pay for the tea destroyed; another *for laying aside the charter of the Massachusets Bay*, and investing the government of that Colony in the Crown, whereby criminals were to be brought to Great-Britain to be tried; and a third, *for the making more effectual provision for the province of Quebec, in North America.*

These new acts of parliament, were received in

the Colonies, with the greateſt contempt and inſolence; while, at the ſame time, they affected a ſort of ironical mourning.—The ſhips in the harbours hung out their colours half-maſt high; the bells rang muffled; and the acts themſelves were printed on mourning paper, with a death's-head affixed to them, and cried about the ſtreets, as THE FOLLY OF ENGLAND, AND THE RUIN OF AMERICA.

Both countries ſeemed now determined on a rupture; they had long enjoyed the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace, liberty, and affluence, and were neither contented with, nor thankful for ſuch mercies.—Deiſm, profanity, and all manner of wickedneſs, ſeemed to call loud for vindictive judgments; while pride and ambition had bound them in chains of ſlavery, and were dragging them captive to their own deſtruction.

No national principle, could induce Great-Britain, ſo inconſiderately, to ruſh into variance with her flouriſhing Colonies; neither could the Coloniſts pretend to the ſmalleſt degree of propriety or reaſon, in ſo early exciting the arms of one of the moſt powerful empires in Europe. Their deſtroying the tea, was certainly a prepoſterous and unjuſtifiable proceeding. It's being ſtored up in Boſton, could be no great infringement upon their liberties, ſo long as they were under no impulſe to buy it, unleſs they pleaſed.

But they argued, "That had they permitted it to have been landed, it would, in ſpite of all oppoſition, have been interſperſed through the country, and conſequently have brought the duty impoſed." But, even admitting this to have been the

caſe, it was by no means a ſufficient pretence for involving themſelves in an unnatural and deſolating war.—People, who were verſant in the country, attributed the cauſes to other motives.

There were in America, numbers of men, of great talents, who had acquired large fortunes, and imagined themſelves nothing inferior to the nobles of Europe, but in the *nominal titles;* which deficiency, their pride and ambition wiſhed to ſupply, by ſecretly endeavouring to eſtabliſh the great and flouriſhing Continent of North America, into a free and independent empire; in which, they expected to hold high places, either in the ſtate or army.

They therefore, had circulated inflammatory letters all over the Continent, alarming the people of the danger that their civil and religious liberties were in; and aſſerting, "That Great-Britain was wreathing the chains of ſlavery about their necks, and intended to drag them into an inconditional ſubmiſſion; which, if they tamely ſubmitted to, would involve them and their poſterity in cruel and oppreſſive bondage."

Thus theſe crafty and deſigning leaders, under the ſpecious pretence of Patriotiſm, and aſſerting the liberty and welfare of their country, had ſpread a political conflagration all over the Continent; and ſo far prevailed upon the credulous and unſuſpecting people, that county and town-meetings were every where held, and the Northern provinces at laſt entered into a *ſolemn league* and *covenant*, to purchaſe no Britiſh goods, nor allow them to come into the country, till their grievances were redreſſed.

Numerous reſolutions were alſo agreed to, all over the country, for encouraging manufactures, and loping off every ſuperfluity in life; while various petitions and remonſtrances were made to the ſeveral governors of the Colonies. But theſe were generally drawn in ſuch inſolent and arrogant language, as cauſed them to be rejected as *ſcandalous lybels* againſt the Britiſh government, which broke up all regal authority through moſt of the provinces.

At laſt, after much altercation and buſtle, it was determined upon, through the ſeveral Colonies, to call a general Congreſs, in order to deliberate upon their preſent grievances, and proceed to ſuch meaſures as might be moſt effectual for the preſervation of their civil and religious liberties.—Delegates were accordingly choſen, who met in the STATE-HOUSE of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September 1774, under the title of *The Continental Congreſs*, which was compoſed of fifty-one of the principal inhabitants of the country; ſome of which were men of uncommon abilities and genius, as well as literary and oratorial talents, which they have evinced by their very conciſe and animated writings.

This audacious Aſſembly, immediately on their meeting, drew up a long *declaration of rights*, as they called it: in which they expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the conduct of the people of Boſton; and aſſured them, that ALL AMERICA would aſſiſt them in the ſupport and protection of the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects; and recommended to the reſt of the Provinces, to contribute towards the

relief of thoſe that ſhould happen to be ſufferers by the effects of the *Boſton port-bill.*

They then drew up a ſeries of *Reſolves*, to be ſtrictly obſerved by all the people of America: and as nothing can be ſaid upon the ſubject, ſo ſhort, or expreſſive of the general ſpirit and diſpoſition of the country, as theſe reſolutions, I ſhall here inſert them in their own words, as they were publiſhed in the Continental Gazette, as follows.

" We his Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, the delegates of the ſeveral Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three Lower Counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on the Delaware; Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed to repreſent them in a Continental Congreſs, held in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th day of September 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majeſty, our affection and regard for our fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, and elſewhere, affected with the deepeſt anxiety, and moſt alarming apprehenſions, at thoſe grievances and diſtreſſes, with which his Majeſty's American ſubjects are oppreſſed; and having taken under our moſt ſerious deliberation, the ſtate of the whole Continent, find, That the preſent unhappy ſituation of affairs, is occaſioned by a ruinous ſyſtem of Colony adminiſtration, adopted by the Britiſh miniſtry, about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enſlaving theſe Colonies, and with them the Britiſh empire.

" In proſecution of which ſyſtem, various acts of parliament have been paſſed, for raiſing a reve-

nue in America; for depriving the American ſubjects, in many inſtances, of the conſtitutional trial by jury; expoſing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the ſeas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America: and, in proſecution of the ſame ſyſtem, ſeveral late, cruel, and oppreſſive acts have paſſed, reſpecting the town of Boſton, and the Maſſachuſets Bay; and alſo an act for extending the province of Quebec, ſo as to border on the Weſtern frontiers of theſe Colonies, eſtabliſhing an arbitrary government therein, and diſcouraging the ſettling of Britiſh ſubjects in that wide extended country: thus, by the influence of civil principles, and ancient prejudices, to diſpoſe the inhabitants, to act with hoſtility againſt the free Proteſtant Colonies, whenever a wicked miniſtry ſhall chooſe ſo to direct them.

" To obtain redreſs of theſe grievances, which threaten deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majeſty's ſubjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure: and therefore we do, for ourſelves, and the inhabitants of the ſeveral Colonies, whom we repreſent, firmly agree and aſſociate, under the ſacred ties of virtue, honour, and the love of our country, as follows.

1. " That from and after the firſt day of December next, we will not import into Britiſh America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatſoever, or from any other place, any ſuch goods, wares, or merchan-

diſe, as ſhall have been exported from Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any Eaſt-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molaſſes, ſyrop, panels, coffee, or pimento, from the Britiſh plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Weſtern Iſlands; nor foreign indigo.

2. "That we will neither import, nor purchaſe any ſlave imported, after the firſt day of December next: after which time, we will wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourſelves, nor will we hire our veſſels, nor ſell our commodities, or manufactures, to thoſe who are concerned in it.

3. "As a non-conſumption agreement, ſtrictly adhered to, will be an effectual ſecurity for the obſervation of the non-importation, we do, as above, ſolemnly agree and aſſociate, that from this day we will not purchaſe or uſe any tea, imported on account of the Eaſt-India company, or any on which a duty hath been, or ſhall be paid; and from and after the firſt day of March next, we will not purchaſe, or uſe any Eaſt-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor ſhall any perſon for or under us, purchaſe or uſe any of thoſe goods, wares, or merchandiſe, —we have agreed not to import, which we ſhall know, or have cauſe to ſuſpect were imported after the firſt day of December, except ſuch as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter-mentioned.

4. "The earneſt deſire we have, not to injure our fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain or Ireland, or the Weſt-Indies, induces us to ſuſpend a non-ex-

portation until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the ſaid acts, and parts of acts, of the Britiſh Parliament, herein aftermentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandiſe or commodity whatſoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the Weſt-Indies, except rice to Europe.

5. "Such as are merchants, and uſe the Britiſh and Iriſh trade, will give orders as ſoon as poſſible, to their factors, agents, and correſpondents in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ſhip any goods to them, on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America: and if any merchant, reſiding in Great-Britain or Ireland, ſhall directly or indirectly, ſhip any goods, wares, or merchandiſe for America, in order to break the ſaid non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the ſame; on ſuch unworthy conduct being well atteſted, it ought to be made public; and on the ſame being ſo done, we will not, from henceforth, have any commercial connection with ſuch merchant.

6. "That ſuch as are owners of veſſels, will give poſitive orders to their captains or maſters, not to receive on board their veſſels, any goods, prohibited by the ſaid non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate diſmiſſion from their ſervice.

7. "We will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to improve the breed of ſheep, and increaſe their number to the greateſt extent; and, to that end, we will kill them as ſparingly as may be, eſpecially thoſe of the moſt profitable kind; nor will we ex-

port any to the Weſt-Indies, or elſe where: and thoſe of us who are, or may be overſtocked with, or can conveniently ſpare any ſheep, will diſpoſe of them to our neighbours, eſpecially to the poorer ſort on moderate terms.

8. " That we will, in our ſeveral ſtations, encourage frugality, œconomy, and induſtry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, eſpecially that of wool. And will diſcontinue, and diſcourage every ſpecies of extravagance and diſſipation; eſpecially all horſe-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, or exhibition of ſhows, plays, and other expenſive diverſions and entertainments. And, on the death of any relation, or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dreſs, than a black crape, or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen; and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies. And we will diſcontinue the giving of gloves or ſcarfs at funerals.

9. " That ſuch as are venders of goods or merchandiſe, will not take any advantage of the ſcarcity of goods, that may be occaſioned by this aſſociation; but will ſell the ſame at the rates we have been reſpectively accuſtomed to do, for twelve months laſt paſt. And if any vender of goods or merchandiſe, ſhall ſell any ſuch goods on higher terms, or ſhall in any manner, or by any device whatſoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no perſon ought, nor will any of us deal with any ſuch perſon, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. " In caſe any merchant or trader, or other

perſon, ſhall import any goods or merchandiſe, after the firſt day of December, and before the firſt day of February next, the ſame ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either reſhiped, or delivered up to the committee of the county, or town, wherein they ſhall be imported, to be ſtored, at the riſk of the importer, until the non-importation agreement ſhall ceaſe; or be ſold under the direction of the committee aforeſaid: and, in the laſt-mentioned caſe, the owner, or owners of ſuch goods, ſhall be reimburſed, out of the ſales, the firſt coſt and charges; the profits, if any, to be applied towards the relieving and employing ſuch poor inhabitants of the town of Boſton, as are immediate ſufferers by the Boſton Port-Bill. And a particular account of all ſuch goods, ſo returned, ſtored, or ſold, to be inſerted in the public papers: and if any goods or merchandiſe ſhall be imported, after the ſaid firſt day of February, the ſame ought forthwith to be ſent back again, without breaking up any of the packages thereof.

11. "That a committee be choſen in every county, city, and town, by thoſe who are qualified to vote for repreſentatives in the legiſlature, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be, attentively to obſerve the conduct of all perſons, touching the aſſociation. And when it ſhall be made to appear, to the ſatisfaction of a majority of any ſuch committee, that any perſon within the limits of their appointment, has violated this aſſociation, that ſuch majority do forthwith cauſe the truth of the caſe to be publiſh-

ed in the Gazette, to the end, that all ſuch foes to the rights of Britiſh America, may be publicly known, and univerſally contemned, as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we reſpectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

12. "That the committee of correſpondence, in the reſpective Colonies, do frequently inſpect the entries of their cuſtom-houſes, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true ſtate thereof, and of every other material circumſtance that may occur, relative to this aſſociation.

13. "That all manufactures of this country be ſold at reaſonable prices, ſo that no undue advantage be taken of a future ſcarcity of goods.

14. "And we do further agree and reſolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourſe whatſoever, with any Colony or Province of North America, which ſhall not accede to, or which ſhall hereafter violate this aſſociation; but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country. And we do ſolemnly bind ourſelves and our conſtituents, under the ties aforeſaid, to adhere to this aſſociation, until ſuch parts of the ſeveral acts of Parliament paſſed ſince the cloſe of the laſt war, as impoſe or continue duties on tea, wine, molaſſes, ſyrop, paneles, coffee, ſugar, pymento, indigo, foreign paper, glaſs, and painters colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts, beyond their ancient limits; deprive the American ſubject of trial by jury; authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the proſecutor from damages, that he

might otherwiſe be liable to, from a trial of his peers; require oppreſſive ſecurity from a claiment of ſhips or goods ſeized, before he ſhall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed: and until that part of the act of the 12th of George III. Ch. 24. intitled, *An Act for the better ſecuring His Majeſty's Dock-Yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition, and Stores;* by which any perſons charged with committing any of the offences therein deſcribed in America, may be tried in any ſhire or county within the realm, is repealed: and until the four acts paſſed in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, *viz.* That for ſtoping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boſton; that for altering the charter and government of the Maſſachuſets-Bay; and that which is intitled, *An Act for the better adminiſtration of Juſtice*, &c.; and that for extending the limits of Quebec, *&c.* are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the reſpective Colonies, to eſtabliſh ſuch further regulations as they may think proper to carry into execution, concerning this aſſociation." In Congreſs, Philadelphia, October 20th, 1774.

Signed by

PEYTON RANDOLPH, Preſident.

For New Hampſhire, *John Sullivan*, *Nathaniel Folſom.*

For Maſſachuſets-Bay, *Thomas Cuſhing*, *Samuel Adams*, *John Adams*, *Robert Treatpaine*,

For Rhode-Island,
- *Stephen Hopkins,*
- *Samuel Ward.*

For Connecticut,
- *Eliphalet Dyer,*
- *Rodger Sherman,*
- *Silas Deane.*

For New-York,
- *Isaac Low,*
- *John Alsop,*
- *John Jay,*
- *James Duane,*
- *William Floyd,*
- *Henry Weisner,*
- *S. Bacrum.*

For New-Jersey,
- *James Kinsey.*
- *William Livingstone,*
- *Stephen Crane,*
- *Richard Smith.*

For Pennsylvania,
- *Joseph Galloway,*
- *John Dickenson,*
- *Charles Humphreys,*
- *Thomas Mifflin,*
- *Edward Biddle,*
- *John Morton,*
- *George Ross.*

For New-Castle, &c.
- *Cæsar Rodney,*
- *Thomas M'Kean,*
- *George Read.*

For Maryland,
- *Matthew Tilghman,*
- *Thomas Johnston,*
- *William Paca,*
- *Samuel Chase,*

For Virginia,	*Richard Henry Lee,* *George Waſhington,* *P. Henry, junior,* *Richard Bland,* *Benjamine Harriſon,* *Edmond Pendleton,*
For North Carolina,	*William Hooper,* *Joſeph Hewes,* *R. Caſwell.*
For South Carolina,	*Henry Middleton,* *Thomas Lynch,* *Chriſtopher Gadſden,* *John Rutledge,* *Edward Rutledge.*

Beſides the preceding reſolves, the Congreſs drew up a long petition to the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; an addreſs to the province of Canada; and another to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland. In all which, they peremptorily aſſerted, "their indiſputable right to aſſemble for the deliberation of their preſent grievances;" and obſerved, "that their anceſtors, by emigrating to America, had by no means forfeit their right to the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects; and that, as proprietors of the ſoil of America, no power on earth had a right to deprive them of their liberty and property, without their conſent."—They further enumerated a long detail of the ſeveral oppreſſive acts, as they called them, which had been paſſed for ſeveral years by the Parliament of Britain, reſpecting the Colonies.

Theſe papers were drawn with a degree of inſolence and contempt of ſovereign authority, peculiar to the ſpirit of the country; and, upon the whole, contained much more *American fire* in their conſtitutions, than was either conſiſtent or neceſſary; and fully evinced, the ambition and duplicity of Congreſs, which rendered their petition, not only deteſtable in Parliament, but abortive in its effects.

One piece of very neceſſary policy was ſaid to have been the firſt reſolve of Congreſs, which was, "That, whatever ſhould afterwards be determined upon by a majority, ſhould come out as UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED; by which the public were become entirely unacquainted with the internal operations of that aſſembly, and were made to believe, that they proceeded with the greateſt unanimity and harmony; neither was it poſſible to procure admittance into the State-houſe, during the ſitting of Congreſs.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that each province had only one vote, without any reſpect to the number of delegates they ſent to Congreſs; which having paſſed a number of Reſolves, reſpecting the temporary regulation of their government, ordered that a new Congreſs be held on the tenth day of May following, if their grievances were not redreſſed before that time.

The political infection had by this time taken hold of all ranks of people; while every company now rung with BRITISH TYRANNY, the RIGHTS of AMERICA, and the poſſibility of their living INDEPENDENT of Great-Britain.

The reſolves of Congreſs had therefore become the creed of all the Colonies; and were obſerved with a religious punctuality by all, except thoſe who were attached to Great-Britain, by the ties of conſanguinity or intereſt, and a number of people, whoſe moderation of ſentiment, induced them to wiſh for the continuation of peace, and an union with the mother-country: but theſe bore ſuch a ſmall proportion to the majority, that their *ſtill ſmall voice* was ſcarely perceivable.

A provincial Congreſs had been appointed in each of the reſpective Colonies, in order to deliberate upon their particular affairs; and committees of correſpondence and ſafety, were choſen in every town and county, to tranſmit to one another, ſuch intelligence as they ſhould find neceſſary, with committees of inſpection, appointed to ſuperintend the obſervance of the mandates of Congreſs.

The article of Eaſt-India tea, had been all along conſidered as the bane of their impending miſeries; and accordingly exclaimed againſt, as unworthy to be drunk by the *brave* and *free-born* PEOPLE of *America*.

The drinking of this *enſlaving herb* had therefore become a heinous crime, and allowed to be a ſure indication of diſaffection to the liberties of America; while ſuch unhappy perſons were viewed with a degree of rancour and malice, peculiar to partizans in the zenith of enthuſiaſm and phrenzy.

The Committee-men were accordingly authorized to ſearch every houſe, about the time of the drinking of this *poiſonous* and *deteſtable weed*, as they called it: and whoever was found ſo treſpaſſing,

were publiſhed in the Gazette, as enemies to their country, and inimical to the rights of America.

This was, in effect, quietly hinting, to the frantic and lawleſs rabble, to deſtroy the houſes of ſuch unlucky perſons, or proceed to the cruel barbarity of rolling them naked in tar and feathers, and carrying them through the city, in this pitiful condition, as public ſpectacles of contempt and hatred.

But in ſpite of all their vigilance, there were numbers of perſons, who could not ſo eaſily refrain from this long-accuſtomed and favourite herb; and uſed it with ſuch ſecrecy, that I have often drunk tea with my landlady and her daughters, in a ſmall garret cloſet, leaſt we ſhould be found by the inſolent and overbearing members of the Committees.

CHAP. III.

The opinion of the miniſtry and parliament of Great-Britain, reſpecting the Coloniſts.—The progreſs of the patriots.—The proceedings of the clergy.—I proceed up the country.—The ſentiments of the people concerning a war.—General Gage's proclamation.—The Americans take Fort-William and Mary, and ſeize all the King's ſtores.—The Aſſembly of New-York petition the King; but to no purpoſe.—The ſkirmiſhes at Lexington and Concord.—Boſton is ſhut up by the Americans.—The Patriots take the Forts of Ticonderago and Crownpoint.—Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrive at Boſton with troops.—The battle of Bunker's-hill.—The Congreſs eſtabliſh an army, and other military regulations.—Georgia accedes to the Continental Confederacy.—The Congreſs again petition the King, addreſs the people of Great-Britain, and publiſh a Declaration to the ſeveral Colonies, ſetting forth the cauſes of their going to war.

THE Britiſh parliament, on hearing of theſe daring and audacious proceedings in America, were greatly aroufed and nettled. Their dignity and ſelf-importance, diſdained to have their authority thus rejected and trampled upon, by thoſe whom they had all along conſidered as cowardly, inſignificant paltroons, who would ſhrink into

paſſive obedience, at the ſight of a *red-coat*, and *the ſhaking of a ſpear*.

Several acts of parliament were immediately paſſed, reſtraining the trade of the Colonies, excluding them from the Newfoundland fiſheries, and prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition to America; all intended as an overbalance to the non-importation agreement of Congreſs, while an army was prepared to be ſent out, conſiſting of only a few regiments, which were then allowed to be more than ſufficient, to ſubjugate thoſe diſcontented and rebellious ſubjects; and fully proved miniſterial ignorance of the then unanimity, and ſerious intentions of the Coloniſts.

The Congreſs having now got tolerably ſeated in the chair of American government, with faſt hold of the reins of the caprice of the people; and underſtanding that their pretended ſupplications were totally rejected at the throne of Great-Britain, and that an army was coming out to chaſtiſe their inſolence: They therefore laid aſide their pretentions to loyalty and lenity, and ſtrongly recommended to the people, the learning of the military art, with every other preparation for a neceſſary defence.

The militia were accordingly embodied; and every male, from the age of ſixteen to fifty years, was ordered to turn out to muſter, and perfect themſelves in the military exerciſe; which, however, was a very trying circumſtance to the friends of government, as they found great difficulty in forming an excuſe from this unnatural and auda-

cious proceeding; and many, for their ſtability, were treat with the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour.

The public ferment thus proceeded from bad to worſe, till every hoſtile preparation was carried on with the greateſt alacrity and ſpirit.—Large premiums were granted for the making of gun-powder and fire-arms: and the militia turned out, with ſuch enthuſiaſtic emulation, that the fields reſounded with martial muſic, and the clanking of arms; and every thing elſe ſeemed ripe for the impending deſolation.

During the infancy of this political fever, the American clergy had been variouſly employed, according as their intereſt and temporal welfare ſeemed to incline.

Thoſe of the church of England, as they held their livings by the appointment of the crown of Great-Britain, ſtrongly inſinuated the dangerous tendency of oppoſing the civil authority; while in their ſermons they ſignificantly alledged, "That *the powers that were*, were *ordained of God;* and that the civil magiſtrate was *God's miniſter on earth*, inveſted with the ſword for *the puniſhment of evil doers*, and *the praiſe of them that did well.*"

On the other hand, thoſe of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, as they held their places only by the exertion of their talents, and attention to their duty, greatly envied the permanent ſituation of their Brethren at home; and therefore wiſhed for a new modelation of government in America, by which, they might not only be inveſted with a higher degree of power, but have their ſtipends

ſettled upon a more ſolid and durable baſis than the caprice of the people.

They accordingly proceeded to alarm the unwary populous, of the tottering ſituation of their liberty of conſcience, aſſerting, "That by the eſtabliſhment of Popery in Canada, and ſeveral other late acts of parliament, it plainly appeared, That Britain was intending the enforcement of Epiſcopacy into America, by which their then happy country would be immediately infeſted with cruel and oppreſſive biſhops, vicars, and curates; who would not only rob them of the tenth of all their produce, but entertain them on Sabbaths, with dry and formal ceremony, altogether inconſiſtent with the plain ſimplicity of the goſpel."

They further averred, "That the behaviour of his preſent Majeſty, had a great ſimiliarity to that of king Charles I. and king James II.; and might, in all probability, terminate in the ſame iſſue, as the leading miniſters at court were ſuppoſed to be ſecretly Roman Catholics, and were intending by thoſe curve and oblique manœuvres, to introduce a deſpotic and tyrannical ſyſtem of government."—But as no power on earth had a right to rob them of thoſe invaluable privileges, committed to their truſt by the alone KING AND HEAD OF THE CHURCH, it was their indiſpenſible duty to protect and defend them, *even unto the death.*—Their forefathers had bravely aſſerted their liberty of conſcience; and although many had fallen in the honourable bed of martyrdom, yet they had effected that ever-glorious and happy Revolution.—And, "That poſterity would look back with hatred and contempt, upon

ſuch an extenſive and populous continent, was it to be tamely enſlaved by ſuch a corrupted, luxurious, and diſſipated iſland as Great-Britain."

Thus thoſe very perſons, who ought to have preached up nothing but *the croſs of Chriſt*, with all the neceſſary and attendant virtues of peace, harmony, charity, and love, *&c.* were ſtraining every nerve, in ſcattering the ſeeds of anger, malice, diſcord, and hatred, which gave deiſtical, and unprincipled perſons, great reaſon to alledge, "That there was no reality in religion at all: and at laſt had ſuch an effect upon the credulous people, that the horrible paſſions of diſcontent, jealouſy, and revenge, ſat lowering on every patriotic countenance, and totally eradicated every natural and friendly tie of affection, which did not concentre in the little underſtood and ambiguous term of *American liberty*.

While patriotiſm thus rapidly proceeded, the commercial progreſs began to be greatly retarded; as the Britiſh veſſels had all retired on the appearance of the approaching ſtorm, and the arrival of more was totally excluded.—The principal merchants had alſo got into the Congreſs, or Committees; and the reſt were either fermenting their brains with politics, or handling their arms in the field.

Although my political taciturnity, and favour with the merchants, had hitherto protected me from poiſing a firelock; yet I now found Philadelphia a place by far too hot for my further reſidence, without being introduced into the ſervice of Mars; whoſe employment my ſentiments rather begged leave to decline.—And as I had always entertained

an irreſiſtible deſire for exploring the interior parts of the country, I ſet out, intending for Cumberland county, in Pennſylvania, where a clergyman lived, to whom I had brought an introductory letter; but was unexpectedly retarded on my journey, in an old and oppulent ſettlement in Lancaſter county, inhabited by a number of capital planters; who no ſooner knew that I was a ſtranger in the country, than they inſiſted that I ſhould ſee them at their houſes, where I was loaded with all the civilities I was capable of receiving.—And while I ſuffered the careſſes of thoſe very generous and hoſpitable people, I was variouſly entertained with politics, and the juſtneſs of the war, with the probability of its terminating in their favours.

When I ventured to alledge, that I thought them rather precipitant, in commencing hoſtilities, with ſuch a powerful and ſucceſsful empire; and that they were ſcarcely ripe, for the reception of a ſpirited exploſion of the formidable reſources of Great-Britain: they returned for anſwer, "That Great-Britain had already paſt the zenith of her glory, as bribery and corruption had ſupplanted honour and virtue; and every political motion was ſecretly enlivened by the ſprings of avarice, intereſt, or favour."

"That the proſecution of a war in that country, would only be conſidered as a commercial, and lucrative operation, in which the officers would be more attentive to the acquiſition of fortunes, and the advancement of places, than the reduction of America, or the welfare of their country. "And the ſoldiery being compoſed of the dregs

of the people, were only a ſubjugated parcel of ſlaves, who accounted the ſervice of their country, a mechanical employment, for which they were only allowed a ſcanty and pitiful ſubſiſtence; and could not be ſuppoſed to fight with ſuch emulation and courage, as the brave and ſpirited freemen of America, who would only be engaged in the defence of their country, and the protection of their lives, liberty, and property, with every other dear and intereſting connection."

They even admitted, "That it might be in the power of Great-Britain, by means of their navy, to block up their harbours, and deſolate their ſea-port towns; but that would be very immaterial to them, who could live on their plantations, almoſt independent of all the world beſide; and prevent the Engliſh from ever penetrating into the country, as their riflemen could ſhoot them from behind trees, as faſt as they would advance."

They likewiſe predicted, "That ſhould it happen to be neceſſary, the French or Spaniards would willingly lend them their aſſiſtance, for the benefit of their trade."

Thus I was entertained, with a prophetical diſquiſition of the progreſs of the war; and was not a little ſurprized to obſerve, a people who had hitherto enjoyed the moſt profuſe affluence and eaſe, ſo unanimous in adopting a chimerical ſyſtem of liberty, ſo pregnant with uncertainty, and all the horrors and deſolations of an internal war.

Thoſe who repreſented to government, that the diſturbances in America, proceeded only from an inconſiderable and deſigning faction, were certain-

ly much miſtaken in their reckoning, as every unbiaſed perſon, who was preſent in the country, will readily allow, that it was not only a general, but an almoſt unanimous ſanction.

It is true, that in Virginia, and the Carolinas, were vaſt numbers of Scots-men, with ſome in the reſt of the Colonies, who moſtly remained attached to government;—and a few other mild and temperate people, who ſtill wiſhed for a continuation of the Britiſh legiſlation.—But theſe bore ſuch a ſmall proportion to the majority, that they were either obliged to conceal their ſentiments, or undergo the ſevereſt calamities.

Having proceeded on my journey, I arrived at the Bigſpring, within a few miles of Carliſle, in one of the moſt fertile, flouriſhing, and agreeable ſettlements, Pennſylvania could produce; where I was received by my reverend friend, and his very valuable lady, with ſuch a degree of familiarity, and friendſhip, as I had ſeldom experienced before.

During the hoſtile preparations of the patriots, General Gage, governor of Maſſachuſets Colony, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the Britiſh troops in America, with orders to exert his utmoſt endeavours for quieting the minds of the people, and preventing the prevailing diſturbances:—and, for that purpoſe, he had iſſued a long proclamation, peremptorily prohibiting the meeting of Congreſſes or Committees; which had no other effect, than exaſperating the people, and increaſing their contempt of ſovereign authority.

The Congreſs, about this time, ſeemed to be greatly embarraſſed concerning the inhabitants in the city of Boſton, as by its ſituation on a Peninſula, only joined to the Continent by a narrow neck of land, it could eaſily be converted by General Gage's army, into a ſort of priſon, wherein the inhabitants would be kept as hoſtages for the better behaviour of the reſt of the country.

They therefore propoſed, that the inhabitants ſhould be removed, the city burned, and the owners indemnified for their loſs.——But this propoſition was found, to be attended with ſuch numberleſs unexpected difficulties, that it was, at laſt, totally rejected; and nothing remained, but for the militia to prepare, with all expedition, and march to their relief.

All hopes of an accommodation with Great-Britain being now at an end, the patriots had loſt all temper and moderation, and proceeded to the moſt daring attempts with the greateſt alacrity.—Almoſt all the King's ſtores in the ſeveral Colonies were ſeized; and the people of Newhampſhire, took poſſeſſion of Fort William and Mary, where they found a conſiderable quantity of gun-powder, and other ammunition.

The Provincial Aſſembly of New-York, was one exception to the unanimity of the Colonies; for, by a ſmall majority, they had diſapproved of the reſolves of Congreſs, and had drawn up a long petition to the court of Great-Britain, upon which they founded the higheſt expectations: but this being alſo rejected, they unite with the reſt of the Colonies in the greateſt diſappointment.

The Americans having collected a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores, at the town of Concord, where the Provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſets Bay was held,—General Gage thought proper to ſend a detachment of granadiers and light infantry, with orders to ſeize them.

This detachment, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of near 900 men, embarked at Boſton, on the evening of the 18th of April 1775, and having gone a conſiderable way up Charles-River, they landed, and proceeded towards Concord, with the greateſt ſilence and caution. Notwithſtanding of which, they obſerved, that the country was alarmed, by the firing of guns, and ringing of bells; beſides a conſiderable body of militia, who had aſſembled on a green beſide the town of Lexington.

The Britiſh troops, on their arrival, ordered the militia to diſperſe; but they refuſing, a ſort of ſcattering engagement commenced, in which the militia had eight killed and ſeveral wounded.

The detachment having proceeded, and arrived at Concord, they there deſtroyed the ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores which they found, and began to return.—But the war having thus commenced, and American blood being now ſhed, the melancholy news flew like lightening through the country, while the militia aſſembled in the greateſt rancour and fury, threatening vengeance and deſtruction to thoſe *blood-hounds of tyranny*, as they called them.

The Britiſh troops were now furiouſly attacked on all ſides, from behind walls, trees, and fences; and were obliged to ſupport an almoſt inceſſant

fire upon ſo very unequal terms, till they got back to Lexington, where they were met by Earl Percy, with a large detachment, and two pieces of canon, which kept the militia at their diſtance, and brought off the troops, although with conſiderable loſs on both ſides.

The news of this tragical excurſion, was no ſooner known in the reſt of the provinces, than the whole country was arouſed to arms; and the militia repaired to Boſton, in ſuch amazing numbers, that the inhabitants and army were totally blockaded, and cut off from being ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries from the country.

The Congreſs now began to drive the chariot of American-government with rapid career; and paſt reſolutions for eſtabliſhing an army, with a large paper currency for its payment, being bills of credit iſſued by Congreſs, in the name of the UNITED COLONIES, by which appellation they had now diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

In the mean time, ſome private companies of enterprizing patriots, had gone and taken poſſeſſion of the forts of Ticonderago and Crownpoint, ſituated upon the lakes between New-England and Canada: where they found a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, and about 200 pieces of canon, beſides two veſſels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and ſome others.

Towards the end of May, Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boſton from England, with a conſiderable force; when it was ex-

pected, that these disturbances would have been effectually crushed, as it had often been asserted in Parliament, that a regiment or two of British troops, could force their way from one end of the colonies to the other.

Nothing of consequence, however, occured till towards the middle of June, when General Gage issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who were disposed to lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, both members of Congress; the later having some time before been chosen president.—It also declared, that martial law should take place; and all who remained in obstinacy, should be treated as traitors and rebels.

This proclamation was accounted by the Americans, only as a prelude to the commencement of hostilities; and, in order to be prepared for the worst,—on the night of the 16th of June, they began to throw up works upon BUNKER'S HILL, situate a little within the Isthmus, which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land, and only separated from Boston by Charles-River.

They carried on their work with such secrecy, and expedition, that towards the morning, they had a strong redoubt, a breast-work, and considerable entrenchments almost completed.——But were no sooner observed by the Lively war-ship, than they were furiously attacked by her, and the floating-batteries.—Notwithstanding of which, they continued their work, till about noon, when General Gage sent a detachment of about 2000

men, under the command Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, to drive the Provincials out of their works.

The attack was commenced by a moſt tremenduous cannonade, and bombardment, while the troops ſlowly advanced, in order to give the artilery time to demoliſh the works, which the Provincials bore with great compoſure and fortitude, and did not return one ſingle ſhot, till the Britiſh were within a little of their works, when they poured ſuch an unexpected ſhower of well-directed rifle-ſhot among them, as not only carried off vaſt numbers of officers, but threw the troops into ſuch conſternation and confuſion, as had almoſt been productive of a defeat.

At this critical moment, Sir Henry Clinton arrived from Boſton; and rallying the troops, brought them again to the charge; when they furiouſly attacked the lines with fixed bayonets; and, after an incredible carnage, drove the Provincials out of their works.

During the engagement, the beautiful Town of CHARLESTOWN had, either intentionally or accidentally, been ſet on fire, and burned to the ground.

The loſs of the Britiſh in this deſperate action, was generally allowed to be about 200 killed, and 800 wounded; beſides a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, ſeven captains, and nine ſubalterns killed; and about ſeventy officers wounded.—Thoſe moſtly regretted, were lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, with the majors Pitcairn and Spendlove.

The loſs of the Provincials, from the various ac-

counts, could never be properly aſcertained; but was allowed to be very conſiderable, although the American accounts reported it to be little more than 400 men.

The battle of Bunker's-hill was immediately reſounded all over the country, as " a great victory obtained over their enemies, as they had repeatedly repulſed them with inconceivable ſlaughter, although they had at laſt retired from their works."

The real accounts of the action began to be ſlowly circulated, although with the greateſt caution, as the informers were always allowed to be enemies to *American liberty*.

The Congreſs now finding matters approach towards extremity, proceeded to appoint general officers, and to regulate the pay of their army.—George Waſhington, Eſq; a gentleman of conſiderable fortune in Virginia, was appointed general, and commander in chief, of all the Continental forces of America; while Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, were appointed to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, adjutant general.

The pay of the private men was no leſs than eight dollars *per* month; beſides proviſions and cloathing, with ſome other neceſſaries.——An enſign had twenty, a lieutenant thirty, and a captain forty dollars *per* month, with rations; but no cloathing.—The pay of the field officers and generals was proportionally great; only it is to be obſerved, that the commander in chief would accept of no other pay, than a re-imburſement of neceſſary expences: and immediately after his appointment

proceeded to Boſton to take the command, accompanied by General Lee, and a large company of volunteers; and was received in the camp, then at Cambridge, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and general ſatisfaction.

In the mean time, the province of Georgia had acceded to the general alliance; and accordingly ſent their delegates to the general Congreſs, which now aſſumed the appellation of *The Delegates for the* THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES. And, in order to ſooth the minds of the people, and to proceed with a greater degree of apparent propriety, they again drew up a long petition to the King; an addreſs to the people of Great-Britain; and a declaration to the Thirteen United Colonies, ſetting forth the cauſes and neceſſity of their taking up arms. And as this, in effect, comprehends the former two, and is a clear indication of the general ſpirit of the country, I ſhall here inſert it in its own words, as follows.

"IF it was poſſible for men, who exerciſe their reaſon, to believe that the divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute propriety in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly reſiſtible, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe Colonies might at leaſt require, from the parliament of Great-Britain, ſome evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body.

"But a reverence for our great Creator, prin-

ciples of humanity, and the dictates of common-ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtred for the attainment of that end.

"The legiſlature of Great-Britain, however ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for a power, not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom, and deſperate of ſucceſs in any mode of conteſt where regard ſhould be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deſerting theſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe Colonies by violence; and have thereby rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal, from *reaſon* to *arms*.

"Yet, however blinded that aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo as to ſlight juſtice, and the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound, by obligations of reſpect to the reſt of the world, to make known the juſtice of our cauſe.—Our forefathers, inhabitants of the Iſland of Great-Britain, left their native land, to ſeek on theſe ſhores a reſidence for civil and religious freedom, at the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the leaſt charge to the country from which they removed; by unceaſing labour, and an unconquerable ſpirit, they effected ſettlements in the diſtant and inhoſpitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians.—Societies or governments, veſted with perfect legiſlators, were formed under charters from the crown, and an

harmonious intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the Colonies, and the kingdom from which they derived their origin.— The mutual benefits of this union became, in a ſhort time, ſo extraordinary, as to excite aſtoniſhment.

" It is univerſally confeſſed, that the amazing increaſe of the wealth, ſtrength, and navigation of the realm, aroſe from this ſource; and the miniſter, who ſo wiſely and ſucceſsfully directed the meaſures of Great-Britain, in the late war, publicly declared, that theſe colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.

" Towards the concluſion of that war, it pleaſed our Sovereign to make a change in his counſels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the Britiſh empire began to fall into confuſion; and gradually ſliding from the ſummit of glorious proſperity, to which they had been advanced, by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length diſtracted by the convulſions, that now ſhake it to its deepeſt foundations. The new miniſtry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

" Theſe devoted Colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate, as to preſent victories, with bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable plunder The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour, from the beginning of Colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful ſervices during the war, though ſo recently and amply ac-

knowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his Majeſty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not ſave them from the meditated inovations.

" Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and, aſſuming a new power over them, have, in the courſe of eleven years, given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquieſcence under it.—They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, though we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to diſpoſe of our own property.

" Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of courts of admirality, and of vice-admirality, beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable privilege of tryal by jury, in caſes affecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, eſtabliſhed by charter; and ſecured by acts of its own legiſlature, ſolemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the ' murderers' of coloniſts from legal trial, and, in effect, from puniſhment; for erecting, in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a deſpotiſm, dangerous to our very exiſtance; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the coloniſts in time of profound peace.—It has alſo been reſolved in parliament, that coloniſts, charged

with committing certain offences, ſhall be tranſported to England to be tried.

" But, why ſhould we ennumerate our injuries in detail? By one ſtatute it is declared, that Parliament can " of right make laws to bind us in all " caſes whatſoever." What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited a power? Not a ſingle man of thoſe, who aſſume it, is choſen by us, or is ſubject to our controul or iufluence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of ſuch laws: and an American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is raiſed, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increaſe ours.

" We ſaw the miſery to which ſuch deſpotiſm would reduce us.—We, for ten years, inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged the throne as ſupplicants; we reaſoned, we remonſtrated with Parliament, in the moſt mild and decent language.—But adminiſtration, ſenſible that we ſhould regard theſe oppreſſive meaſures, as freemen ought to do, ſent over fleets and armies to enforce them.—The indignation of the Americans was rouſed, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people.

" A Congreſs of delegates from the united colonies was aſſembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of laſt September. We reſolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King; and alſo addreſſed our fellow-ſubjects of Great-Britain.—We have purſued every temperate, every reſpect-

ful meaſure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourſe with our fellow-ſubjects, as the laſt peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth ſhould ſupplant our attachment to liberty.—This we flatter ourſelves, was the ultimate ſtep of controverſy; but ſubſequent events have ſhown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

" Several threatening expreſſions againſt the colonies were inſerted in his Majeſty's ſpeech. Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one; that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to receive it graciouſly, and to promiſe laying it before his parliament, was hudled into both houſes among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected.—The Lords and Commons in their addreſs, in the month of February, ſaid, That a rebellion at that time actually exiſted within the province of Maſſachuſets-Bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the other colonies; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature.

Soon after the commercial intercourſe of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were entirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſuſtenance; and large

reinforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage.

" Fruitleſs were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illuſtrious band of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay or even to mitigate the headleſs fury with which theſe accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the city of London, of Briſtol, and many other reſpectable towns, in our favour.

" Parliament adopted an inſideous manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to eſtabliſh a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony ſhould bid againſt colony, all of them uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown ſums that ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if poſſible to gratify, miniſterial rapacity, with the miſerable indulgence left to us, of raiſing in our own mode the preſcribed tribute.—What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorſeleſs victors to conquered enemies! In our preſent circumſtances, to accept them would be to deſerve them.

" Soon after the intelligence of theſe proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who, in the courſe of the laſt year, had taken poſſeſſion of the town of Boſton in the province of Maſſachuſets-Bay, and ſtill occupied it as a garriſon, on the 19th day of April ſent out, from that place, a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked aſſault on the inhabitants of the ſaid province, at

the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of perſons, ſome of whom were officers and ſoldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others.

" From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they ſet upon another party of the inhabitants of the ſame province, killing ſeveral, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people, ſuddenly aſſembled to repel this cruel aggreſſion.

" Hoſtilities, thus commenced by the Britiſh troops, have been ſince proſecuted by them, without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boſton being confined within that town by the General, their governor; and having, in order to procure their diſmiſſion, entered into a treaty with him; it was ſtipulated that the ſaid inhabitants, having depoſited their arms with their own magiſtrates, ſhould have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects.—They accordingly delivered up their arms; but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even ſavage nations eſteem ſacred, the governor ordered the arms depoſited as aforeſaid, that they might be preſerved for their owners, to be ſeized by a body of ſoldiers; detained the greateſt part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their moſt valuable effects behind them.

" By this perfidy, wives are ſeparated from their huſbands, children from their parents, the aged and ſick from their relations and friends, who wiſh to attend and comfort them; and thoſe who have

been uſed to live in plenty, and even in elegance, are reduced to deplorable diſtreſs.

" The General further emulating his miniſterial maſters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the groſſeſt falſhoods and calumnies againſt the good people of theſe Colonies, proceeds to " declare them all, either by name or deſcription, to be rebels and traitors; to ſuperſede the courſe of the common law; and, in ſtead thereof, to publiſh and order the uſe and exerciſe of the *law-martial*."—His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burned Charleſtown, beſides a conſiderable number of houſes in other places; our ſhips and veſſels are ſeized; the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmoſt power to ſpread deſtruction and devaſtation around him.

" We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the governor of Canada, is inſtigating the people of that province, and the Indians, to fall upon us; and we have but too much reaſon to apprehend, that ſchemes have been formed to excite domeſtic enemies againſt us.

" In brief, a part of theſe Colonies now feels, and all of them are ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of adminiſtration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of irritated miniſters, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity forbid us tamely

to ſurrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us.—We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely intail hereditary bondage upon them.

" Our cauſe is juſt: our union is perfect: our internal reſources are great; and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. — We gratefully acknowledge, as ſignal inſtances of the divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this ſevere controverſy, until we were grown up to our preſent ſtrength, had been previouſly exerciſed in warlike operations, and poſſeſſed of the means of defending ourſelves.

" With hearts fortified with theſe animating reflections, we moſt ſolemnly, before God and the world declare, That, exerting the utmoſt energy of theſe powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciouſly beſtowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to aſſume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmneſs and perſeverance, employ for the preſervation of our liberties, being with one mind reſolved to die freemen, rather than to live ſlaves.

" Leaſt this declaration ſhould diſquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-ſubjects, in any part of the empire, we aſſure them, that we mean not to diſſolve that union, which has ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between us; and which we ſincerely wiſh to ſee reſtored. Neceſſity has not yet driven

us to that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies, with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing Independent States. We fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence.—They boast of their privileges and civilization; and yet profer no milder conditions, than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed, till the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers, and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors. And all dangers of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

"With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict; to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation, on reasonable terms; and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war."

By order of the Congress,

PHILADELPHIA, July 6th, 1775. } JOHN HANCOCK, President.
Attest. CHA. THOMSON, Secretary.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings of the Congreſs, and general enthuſiaſm of the Coloniſts.—I am hard preſſed to join the militia, and ſet out for the new ſettlements.—The manner of travelling and ſleeping in the woods deſcribed.—I arrive at the banks of the Ohio-River, and practiſe ſurveying land.—A deſcription of the country in its original ſtate, with its wild beaſts and reptiles.—The manner of procuring and ſettling of land, with the various methods of clearing and improving plantations.—The way of living, and ſocial diverſions of the inhabitants.—The genius, habit, figure, complexion, way of living, manners, cuſtoms, religion, government, and peculiarities of the Indians.

THE Congreſs, at this time, ſeemed to entertain very inadequate ideas concerning the formation and permanency of an army; for, they imagined, that all the people were poſſeſſed of ſuch permanent zeal and patriotiſm as to turn out, whenever it ſhould be hinted, that their aſſiſtance was neceſſary; and accordingly they enliſted their troops only for a year, ſix months, or whatever time was moſt ſuitable to the people.

They even appeared to be a little embaraſſed in the career of their government: like perſons practiſing a buſineſs, of which they have not a thorough experience, they had enacted ſeveral laws,

which, proving inadequate to the purpoſe, were obliged to be ſupported by new ones, of a more determinate and arbitrary nature.—The militia-law was ordered to be ſteadily enforced; and copies of the Continental-Aſſociation, were tranſmitted all over the colonies, to be ſubſcribed by every individual, capable of bearing arms: and thoſe who refuſed this teſt of adherance, were treated by the mercileſs committee-men, in the moſt cruel and arbitrary manner, as "enemies to their country, and as unworthy of the *liberties* of *America*."

A political phrenzy, and martial enthuſiaſm, had now taken poſſeſſion of every deſcription of patriots; even old men, heads of capital families, formed themſelves into the ranks of independent and volunteer batalions, and repaired to Boſton with the greateſt devotion. Their women had likewiſe received the intoxicating ſpirit to ſuch a degree, that it appeared a perfect phænomenon in nature, to obſerve them, with the greateſt expedition and chearfulneſs, fitting up their huſbands, fathers, and brothers, for the dangerous, and often fatal exerciſes of the field of battle.

Their public enſigns appeared to proclaim the greateſt heroiſm and virtue. Their colours contained, in large capital letters, "LIBERTY OR "DEATH;" their cartouch-boxes and capes, "LIBERTY IS THE PRIZE;" and their paper continental dollars, either diſplayed a ſnake cut in pieces, with the motto of, UNITE OR DIE; or a chain, in imitation of the united colonies, with the motto of, MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

During the progreſs of theſe internal operations, I frequently attended their muſters and meetings, along with my reverend friend, who, as an advocate for liberty, often diſordered their plans, and embaraſſed their counſels, by his uncommon acuteneſs of genius, and forcible manner of arguing.

At laſt, they began to expreſs their amazement, that, I ſhould loſe ſuch an opportunity of learning the military art, by which I might not only have the honour of defending my country, but arrive at high preferments in the army.

I told them that my diſpoſition did not ſeem to incline to a military life; and that I could ſcarcely yet ſay, which was my country, as having finiſhed my education at an early period, I had only taken a trip of travelling before I ſhould ſettle in the world, in order to evaporate the fumes of foppery, incident to my nation.

In anſwer to which, they informed me, "that if I conſidered myſelf a ſubject of Britain, I ought to have retired on the commencement of hoſtilities, as no travelling was allowed in belligerent ſtates, to ſubjects of the enemy; and as matters then ſtood, I would be obliged, not only to ſign the aſſociation, but to take my turn in the militia.

I begged a few days for conſideration; which was accordingly granted me, out of reſpect to my friend, who was greatly beloved in that place. —And, as I had no other alternative left me, but either to comply with their demands, or immediately decamp, I ſet out, (being about the middle of ſummer) for the new ſettlements on the banks

of the Ohio-River, along with three young men, who were accidentally coming paſt.

Having travelled the firſt day pretty comfortably; on the ſecond, we got as far as the Blue-Mountains, the rugged ſteepneſs of which, was truly terrifying. The paſſage by which we aſcended, run up the tract of a rivulet, through almoſt inacceſſable rocks, till they got to the top: and our horſes, poſſeſſing much of the agile quality of goats, we made ſhift to deſcend a winding path, cut in an almoſt perpendicular precipice, to the foot of the mountain.

The heat of the day, and difficulty in croſſing, had obliged me to lay off my coat; but when I came to put it on, to my great ſurprize and vexation, I found, that I had irrecoverably loſt my pocket-book, with all my money; and was going out to a country, where I had not ſo much as the moſt diſtant acquaintance.

But being now out of the inhabited world, I had little occaſion for money; for we carried proviſions along with us, and at nights, turned out our horſes to feed in the woods, ſtruck up a fire, regaled ourſelves from our budgets, and went to ſleep on the ground.—In the morning we found our horſes, by the aſſiſtance of bells hung about their necks for that purpoſe, and proceeded on our journey.

Having travelled for ſome days in this manner, we got acroſs the great Alliginay-mountains, and Laurel-hills; and arrived, after a journey, containing various adventures and difficulties, in that moſt fertile and agreeable country on the banks of

the Ohio-River, which commands the trade of the Weſt-Indies, and Spaniſh ſettlements: and when it comes to be fully ſettled, will be a conſiderable place of commerce.

Having ſpent ſome time in exploring the country, I fixed my reſidence at the houſe of a rich old widow, who had retired to this new ſettlement, with her only ſon and daughter, and lived in the greateſt harmony and affluence.

After ruminating upon what was beſt to be done in my preſent exigences, I found, that ſurveying land, was not only the moſt agreeable, but moſt lucrative employment I could follow in that place: and accordingly ſet about it, with ſuch diligence and ſucceſs, that I ſoon acquired a competency for my preſent felicity; while I had a conſtant opportunity of obſerving, that my former romantic ideas, concerning the country in its primitive ſtate, had almoſt attained to the truth.

The hills, as well as the vallies, are all covered with lofty trees, of white, red, and black oaks; hickery, aſh, elm, maple, poplar, locuſt, mulberry, plumb, and ſervice-berry trees; with variety of others, too tedious to enumerate.

The woods are well ſtored with wild vines of different ſorts, and various other ſhrubs and oſſiers. —The wood is generally ſtreight, and grows to an amazing height in the trunk, which is eaſily ſplit into ſhingles, ſtaves, boards, and rails.

The moſt remarkable wild beaſts in this country, are firſt, the buffaloe; a large animal, nearer the ſpecies of a cow than any other creature.—Its carcaſe ſometimes weights twelve hundred weight, and

is excellent meat. They generally travel in large droves to the ſalt-ſprings or licks, which are very plenty down the Ohio-River.

Dears are amazingly plenty in the new ſettlements, being beautiful creatures of ſurprizing celerity, whoſe ſkins are of well-known uſe: but their carcaſes are exceedingly dry veniſon.

Bears are indifferently plenty; but ſeldom attack, except in great extremity; and, when hard hunted, they generally climb up trees, where often aſcending higher than their track will allow, they tumble down, and become a prey to their purſuers. —Their fleſh is excellent eating, being much of the quality of pork.

There are alſo plenty of racoons, ſquirrels, and rabbits; with ſeveral other quadrupeds, which make delicious veniſon.

Wild turkeys are amazingly plenty in the new countries; and are ſo very ſtupid, that they will ſit, in large flocks, upon the trees, till you may ſhoot as many as you pleaſe: but when the country is tolerably ſettled, they become exceedingly wild and ſhy.

Rattle-ſnakes, copperheads, vipers, black-racers; garter, green, and water-ſnakes, with a great many different ſpecies of other reptiles, are pretty plenty; but ſeldom bite, except when trode upon, which is not often the caſe.

The quality of the land is generally known by the wood which it produces. — That which is covered with walnut, hickery, aſh, and black oak, is always the beſt; or even where any of theſe is to-

lerably plenty, it is good: but wherever pines or cedars are found, the ſoil is always the worſt.

The country is well ſupplied with excellent freſh water ſprings; and has plenty of coal near the ſurface, weſt of the Alliginay-mountains.—Limeſtone is likewiſe in great plenty, both in the old and new ſettlements.

The firſt claimer of a tract of land, holds it by an indiſputable law-right; and has nothing more to pay, than ſome triffling quit-rents, and a ſmall ſum for a deed or charter, with a draught of the place from the Provincial Surveyor-General's office, where it is entered, according to its ſituation. Although this is not neceſſary to be done, till they are ten or twelve years ſettled.

The greateſt part of the land, in the new ſettlements, near the frontiers, is claimed by hunters, or perſons who go out to kill deer in the fall of the year; and mark all the land they find unclaimed for themſelves, which they generally ſell to perſons intending to ſettle, for ſometimes ſo ſmall a ſum that is ſcarcely a compenſation for the trouble of looking it out.

A plantation, or tract of land in New Virginia, or on the banks of the Ohio, was upwards of 400 acres: but a perſon under that name could hold near 500 acres.—No perſon was allowed to claim more than one plantation, unleſs they had a family; and then, they might hold one for each child, even although they were very young.

When a plantation is going to be ſettled, the firſt thing they do upon it, is to build a ſmall houſe of ſlim ſtreight timber, by cutting the trees the

exact length of the ſide-walls, and ends, and natching them at the corners in form of dove-tail.

The roof is formed by ſhortening the end logs, from the wall-top, till it terminates in a point, and is then covered with boards, ſplit from ſhort cuts of the beſt oak, which they do with the greateſt dexterity and expedition, as well as the choping and hewing of wood.

The floor is laid of logs, hewn quite ſmooth in form of planks and exceedingly cloſe ſeamed.—The door and windows are cut out with a ſaw, after the cell is raiſed; the ends of the logs being properly ſupported and faſtened to ſide-poſts.—The ſeams in the walls are filled up with chips of wood, and cloſe bedaubed with clay.

The houſe being thus finiſhed, which is generally done, by four or five ſmart hands in a day, they then lay off a field, exactly ſquare, which they clear, by picking up with a mattock all the ſmall bruſhwood, which, by the bye, is very ſcarce in the new ſettlements.

The wood being ſo very thin and clean, that the largeſt carriage may be drove, with the greateſt eaſe, almoſt all over the country.

The ſmall trees are always cut down, and heaped up for burning, along with the bruſhwood.—The beſt of the timber is thrown down, and cut off in logs of eleven feet long, which they ſplit into ſpars, or rails, of a proper ſize, of which they build the fence, by laying them in a winding form of obtuſe angles, about 150 degrees, with the fore end

upon a piece of wood, and the other upon the fore end of the rail behind.—The corners on each ſide, are ſtraight in a line with one another; and the operation repeated, till the fence is ſix feet high, which is made quite faſt from ſhaking, by fixing poles in the ground on each ſide; and croſſing their tops at the corners, they lay heavy rails acroſs their projected points, which alſo adds to the height of the fence.

All the remaining wood upon the field is killed, by ſtriking an ax into the bark all round; by which the tree is deprived of nouriſhment, and never puts out more.

The land in the new ſettlements is generally ſo eaſily cleared, that one hand can fence and clear a ten-acre field, in the courſe of a winter.—A good workman can cut down, log off, and ſplit 200 rails in a day.—Neither is the wood, being left upon the ground any great incumbrance, as by their dexterity in plowing, they go cloſe round the trees, whoſe naked arms, have little effect, in preventing the powerful influence of the ſummer's ſun.

The field being thus cleared and fenced, it is run off by parallel furrows, ſix feet apart; which are again croſſed by others of the ſame nature, only four feet apart.—The Indian corn is planted about the middle of May, by laying five or ſix grains together, at the croſſings of the furrows, which is nicely covered over with a hoe;—and the vacancies plowed up afterwards.

The potatoes, and other garden ſtuffs, are planted about the ſame time; the raiſing of which,

and the hoeing of the corn, is the principal part of their ſummer's work.

About the end of September, the corn is ripe, which is cut down, and taken in, and the ground ſown with wheat and rye.—A new field is cleared next winter for ſpring grain; and ſo they proceed from leſs to more, till they became capital planters.

Their horſes, cattle, and hogs run wild in the woods; the oldeſt having a bell hung about its neck, which can be heard at a great diſtance, by which they are found at any time, every perſon knowing the ſound of their own bell, even among ſeveral at a time.—It is very common for one farmer to own 40 or 50 hogs, which run in the woods, and live upon nuts, &c. with little expence to the owner.

The only market they have for their ſurplus grain, in the new ſettlements, for ſometime, is the families which are daily ſettling among them, and always want a ſupply for the firſt year: but after the country is tolerably ſettled, and begins to approach towards a ſtate of perfection, commerce extends, ſtores and merchant-milns are erected all over the country, which not only ſupply them with neceſſary articles, but purchaſe their produce in return.

It is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe, how eaſily the world may be begun in this new country.—I have often known young men, poſſeſſed of no other ſtock in the world, than their rifle-gun, an ax, a mattock, and a hoe, with ſome other implements,

go out and take up a tract of land, upon which they would build a ſmall hut, and clear a little field: but having no horſe, would plant and raiſe a crop of corn, *&c.* with their hoe, which would procure them neceſſaries for a comfortable beginning.—And even although they were not able to purchaſe a horſe, with which they could join with any other perſon, in the ſame ſituation, they needed be at no loſs about ſowing of their wheat, *&c.* as, for a few days work, they could have a large field, plowed by thoſe who had horſes to ſpare.

Nothing can be more charming and agreeable, than the general ſociality and harmony which reign among all ranks of people, ſettled in a new country.—Every particular piece of work is done by what they call a *frolick*, which is the gathering of a number of the neighbours together, and doing it off at once.

When the corn is ripe, the ears are hauled home, and laid up in a heap; and as many invited as will huſk it in an evening.—There, perſons of every deſcription, attend and work together, with the greateſt equality, mirth, and amuſement.

The corn being all huſked, they retire to a deſent ſupper; after which, they dance, or play at any other game, or diverſion, that is moſt agreeable to the company.—Few nocturnal entertainments ever gave me more real amuſement and ſatisfaction, than thoſe ſocial meetings.—During the time I was a ſtranger, every perſon ſeemed more aſſiduous than another to promote my happineſs and entertainment.

Another capital frolic, but of a more laborious nature, and totally performed by men, is, the rolling, or heaping for burning, all the deadned trees which have fallen down in a field through the courſe of the winter; by which the land is totally cleared in a few years.

In the month of February, they make large quantities of ſugar from a ſpecies of the mapple, which there goes under the name of the *ſugar-tree*. The woods abound with a ſort of tea-plant; and even ſpice-wood, ſage, and ſaſſafras are ſometimes uſed inſtead of that article.—Thus all nature ſeems to conſpire for the eaſe, comfort, and encouragement of ſettling thoſe fertile and extenſive regions.

My enthuſiaſm for travelling not being yet ſatisfied, I ſet out in order to ſee ſome remarkable places, of which I had read in the hiſtory of the laſt war.

The firſt I viſited was the famous field were General Bradock was defeated by the French, and their Indian allies, which now goes under the name of *Bradock's field;* and ſtill retains the greateſt indications of an incredible carnage.

The next place I came to was the pleaſantly ſituated town of Pittſburgh, which ſtands upon the banks of the Mohongola-river, a little above the point, where the junction of it and Alliginay, form the great Ohio-river.—The famous Fort du Queſne formerly ſtood on the very point where the two rivers unite, but is now in ruins.

FORT PITT (ſo called, in honour of the late Earl of Chatham) now ſtands between the town of Pitts-

burgh, and the head of the Ohio; and is furrounded by a ſtrong wall, and well fortified with artillery.—Near it ſtands Grant's-hill, or the place where General Grant was defeated by a ſally of the French and Indians from Fort du Queſne.

The deſire I had always entertained to viſit the Indian nations, induced me to forgoe every apprehenſion of danger; and to embrace the opportunity of going along with ſome young men, who were going out among thoſe ſavage people.

We accordingly croſſed the Alliginay-river, and explored our way through that great tract of country, yet in poſſeſſion of the natives; the bounds of which are unknown to Europeans. And when we arrived at the Indian towns, or parcels of huts, we were received with a degree of civility and hoſpitality, as unexpected as ſurpriſing.

Thoſe expreſſive emblems of unpoliſhed nature, ſometimes diſplay an uncommon ability of genius, and ſhine with a tolerable luſtre, when bleſſed with a literary education.

Their ordinary dreſs in ſummer, is a pair of mocoſoons, or ſhoes made of buckſkin; a pair of legings, or piece of buckſkin wrapt about their legs; a breech-cover, or piece of ſkin faſtened about their groin; and in winter they wear a buffaloe's hide, wrapt about their body, to preſerve them from the intenſe cold.—Both men and women are ſo exceſſively fond of jewels and bracelets, that their arms, ears, and noſes, are loaded with enormous trinkets.

Thoſe who have trade and intercourſe with the white people, have their legings and breech co-

vers of cloth, which are curiouſly decorated with waumpum, or ſmall beads, and are provided with blankets, rifles, hatchets, powder, lead, and rum, in return for their ſkins and furs.

The full dreſs of an Indian, on days of feſtivity, is nothing more than a pair of mocoſoons, and a breech-cloth; all the reſt of his body being naked, and curiouſly painted various colours.—Sometimes in imitation of the back-wood hunters, and other white people, who occaſionally viſit them, they are ſeen to wear a hunting ſkirt, which is made open before; and being curiouſly fringed, is tied about their waiſt with a belt of waumpum.

They are naturally of an olive, or tawny colour; and generally anoint themſelves with bears greaſe, and other ſoftning ingredients, to preſerve them from the ſcorching effect of the ſun.—The Indian men are exceedingly ſtreight, well-proportioned, and very grave; but their women, owing to their ſtate of ſervitude, are not ſo handſome.

They generally live in ſmall towns, compoſed of a parcel of little huts, or cabbins; and move from place to place as they find it convenient.—They principally live by hunting and fiſhing, with a little corn which they raiſe, and make into homony, inſtead of bread.

The women do all the laborious work; ſuch as, cutting the wood, building the hut, preparing the ground, and raiſing the corn; with every other piece of menial employment.

In the morning, the men go out to hunt; and when they kill a deer, or any ſuch animal, they take off the ſkin, which they carry along with

them: but the carcaſe is left for the women to bring home.—The men imagine it derogatory to their dignity, to interfere in any other concerns than hunting and war.

When the head of a family returns from hunting, the wife has the kettle ready, with his fare, of which he partakes alone, in a ſtately manner: and when he has done, the reſt take what he has left, while he repairs to bed; and the wife dries and rubs his mocoſoons for to-morrow's excurſions.

The Indians ſeldom enter into any formal marriage, but take wives for a ſpecified time; and if they behave well, they keep them ſtill; but if not, they are ſent away, and may be taken by another.

They never chaſtiſe their children, but allow their natural diſpoſition a full ſway.—Their feaſts and entertainments are exceedingly natural and ſimple.——They never ſpeak but when they have ſomething of importance to utter, which they generally deliver with the moſt profound gravity, and oratorial emphaſis.

Thoſe of one nation, or alley, behave with the greateſt reſpect and complacency to one another; and are warm and affectionate in their perſonal friendſhips: but when ill-uſed, or otherwiſe affronted, time itſelf can ſcarcely eradicate their revenge.

To the ſhame of Atheiſts, they, as well as all other ſavage people, by a neceſſary conſequence of their immortality, believe in the exiſtence of a ſupreme being; but imagine him of too exalted and incomprehenſible a nature, to take cognizance of ſuch inſignificant creatures as they; and commonly

denominate him the GOOD MAN: while, at the ſame time, they believe in the exiſtence of a *bad man*, or malevolent being, who has power to injure them at pleaſure; and, to prevent which, they devote the whole ceremony of their adulation to him.

They are exceeding credulous and ſuperſtitious in religious matters; and are often greatly impoſed upon by prophetical enthuſiaſts, who ariſe and make them believe, that they have had extraordinary revelations, concerning their fate in war, and the riſe or downfal of their ſeveral nations.

Their preparation for, and proceedings in war, are horrible, beyond all expreſſion; and often diſplay the moſt barbarous accuteneſs of invention, in tormenting their unhappy captives, who always endure thoſe excruciating tortures, with the greateſt patience, fortitude, and perſeverance.

Their ſyſtem of government is by kings, chiefs, and captains.—A king is head of a nation, of which there are a great many; a chief of a tribe, and a captain of a party of warriors.—Their crown is in a great meaſure hereditary; while, at the ſame time, in the diſpoſal of the people: but their chiefs and captains generally riſe by their perſonal merit.

Being altogether deſtitute of literary accompliſhments, or the fine arts, their great geniuſes are only emulous to render themſelves popular by fates in war, dexterity in hunting, or fluency in oratory.

By their intercourſe with the Europeans, they are frequently put in poſſeſſion of large quantities of rum, and other ſpiritous liquors, with which they often make too free, and throw themſelves, before they are aware, into a ſtate of abſolute intoxication; but no ſooner recover their reaſon, than they are ſo much aſhamed of ſuch an agregious deviation from nature, that if any white perſon ſhould happen to have been among them, who had not his ſenſes buried in the ſame gulf of beaſtly oblivion, rather than ſuch a witneſs of their enormous brutality ſhould have any more exiſtance, they will endeavour to conceal their drunkenneſs by murder, and will ſacrifice the life of the unlucky perſon to their ſhame and remorſe.

It would far exceed the bounds of my preſent intentions, to enumerate the various peculiarities incident to thoſe ſavage people: let it therefore for the preſent ſuffice, that being fully ſatisfied, reſpecting the various cuſtoms, and way of living of thoſe unpoliſhed nations, I returned to my former habitation, and proſecuted my former employment with great ſucceſs and comfort, being daily attended by the ſeveral owners of the land, which was bounded by the lines I was ſurveying, who were all ſolicitous to have me home with them at nights, when I and my horſe were treated with the beſt they could afford.—But as it is now time to turn my views to more unimitting objects, —I ſhall, in the next place, take a retroſpect of the proceedings of the war.

CHAP. V.

The Congreſs ſend an expedition againſt Canada.—They take Fort Chamblee, and get poſſeſſion of St. Johns, and Montreal, by capitulation.—Arnold arrives with a detachment from Boſton.—They attempt to ſtorm Quebec, but are repulſed.—The diſtreſſes of the army and inhabitants in Boſton.—Proceedings of the Americans.—A committee of Congreſs repair to Boſton.—General Howe embarks the army.—General Waſhington takes poſſeſſion of Boſton.—The Britiſh army arrive at Halifax.—The Congreſs aſſume arbitrary powers.—My manner of living in the new ſettlements.—I return to the lower counties, after various adventures and difficulties.—Diſputes between Governor Dunmore and the Virginians.—He removes the powder magazine, and arms the negroes.—He is defeated by the Virginians at Great-Bridge, and takes to the war-ſhips, with a great many friends to government.—An attempt by the Scots Emigrants in Carolina, but are defeated and totally diſperſed.—The Britiſh troops attempt to reduce the Carolinas, but are repulſed with great loſs.—The joy of the Americans on that occaſion.—The declaration of the independence of North America.

THE Congreſs being determined to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour: while the Britiſh army was weak and cooped up in Boſ-

ton, had detached an army from Crown-Point and Ticonderago, under the command of General Schuyler and Montogemery, which marched into Canada, with orders to reduce all the Britiſh fortifications in that province; and to endeavour to perſuade the Canadians to join the reſt of the coloniſts, in compliance with the government of Congreſs.

They accordingly, about the beginning of September 1775, arrived at the iſland of St. Johns, where, on their landing, they were ſo roughly handled by a party of Britiſh and Indians, as not only threw them into great diſorder, but obliged them, for the time, to retreat.—Immediately after this unexpected repulſe, General Schuyler was obliged to return to Albany, where he was detained by various buſineſs, upon which the whole weight of the Canada expedition devolved upon General Montgomery, who ſoon after found means to lay ſeige to the fort of St. Johns, at this time garriſoned by near two regiments of Britiſh troops, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and ſtores.

In the mean time, one Ethan Allan, an American adventurer, at the head of a party of enthuſiaſts, intended to ſurpriſe the town of Montreal; but, on his approach, he was met by a detachment of troops, who totally defeated his party, and took himſelf priſoner, when he was caſt into irons, and ſent priſoner to England, by Governor Carleton; but was ſoon ſent back to America.

The progreſs of General Montgomery, before

the garriſon of St. Johns, began to be greatly retarded for want of gun-powder, and other materials; upon which, he turned his attention to a ſmall fort, called Chamblee, which he eaſily carried; and there found ſuch a ſupply of ammunition, as enabled him to carry on the ſiege of St. Johns, with ſuch rigour and perſeverance, that about the beginning of November, the garriſon ſurrendered, upon being allowed to retain their private effects, the officers to wear their ſide-arms, and the whole to march out with the honours of war.

Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, Montgomery immediately proceeded to Montreal, which, being in no condition to hold out, alſo ſurrendered, upon ſecurity being given, that the inhabitants ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and peaceable poſſeſſion of their private effects.

In the mean time, Governor Carleton eſcaped to Quebec; having paſſed the enemy's works, in a boat with muffled oars, in the courſe of a dark night; while all the veſſels in the harbour, with General Preſcot and ſeveral other officers, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

Whilſt matters were thus going on in Upper Canada, Colonel Arnold had been detached from Boſton, with about 1100 men, in order to aſſiſt in the total reduction of that province: And, after a moſt extraordinary difficult paſſage up the Kennibec river, in which they were frequently obliged to carry their batteaux and proviſions, for nine, ten, and ſometimes twelve miles at a time, they arrived before Quebec, about the 10th of November;

and having repeatedly ſummoned the garriſon to no purpoſe, he drew off his troops, in order to be refreſhed.

General Montgomery having left a few troops in the Fort of Montreal, proceeded, with all expedition, to join Colonel Arnold; by whoſe aſſiſtance, and his former ſucceſſes, he was inſpired with audacity ſufficient to make an attack upon the almoſt impregnable garriſon of Quebec; before whoſe formidable walls, that brave and renowned young hero, General WOOLF, drew his laſt breath.

Accordingly, having made every neceſſary preparation, he opened a bombardment with five ſmall mortars, which, by the intrepidity and uncommon military genius of the governor, with the bravery of the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers, was rendered of little or no effect.

In a few days after, he opened a ſix-gun battery, within a little of the garriſon; but his mettal being too light, he found this alſo unſucceſsful. And the inclemency of the weather, in that cold climate, not admitting of tedious operations, he was either obliged to riſque the fate of the expedition, upon a deſperate attempt, or abandon the enterprize.

In conſequence of which, on the laſt day of the year 1775, they proceeded to ſtorm the Fort at two ſeparate places, by two grand diviſions; the one led on by Montgomery in perſon, and the other by Arnold, who was next in command.

The tremendous artillery, frowning on their ſpirited approach, began with hideous roar to belch forth flames, anguiſh, and death, with ſuch fury and ſucceſs, that among many others the brave

Montgomery fell; which ſtruck his diviſion with ſuch conſternation and terror, that they retired in the greateſt diſorder and precipitation.

In the mean time, Arnold and his party, had carried an outer batter, and was rapidly proceeding, when he was wounded by a ſhot in the leg, which obliged him to be carried off to the camp.

His troops ſtill ignorant of Montgomery's fate, puſhed on with great vigour, till at laſt they became ſo involved in the garriſon, that all poſſibility of retreat was cut off, and they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war; while the reſt of the troops, being collected under the command of the invalided Arnold, remained in a ſtate of inactivity, during the reſt of the winter.

During the courſe of theſe tranſactions in Canada, the Britiſh army, and inhabitants in the blockaded town of Boſton, were ſuffering the ſevereſt calamities for want of proviſions and fewel.—For the American army was determined that the Britiſh ſhould have no ſupplies from the country: and the Britiſh were reſolved, that the inhabitants ſhould be involved in the ſame calamity, by preventing them from leaving the town.

Several veſſels, however, arrived with proviſions from Britain; but were moſtly taken at the mouth of the Bay, by American adventurers, which greatly increaſed the deplorable ſtate of the troops in the town, as well as thoſe ſtationed at Bunker's-hill; while the people of the ſeveral Colonies largely contributed towards the relief of their diſtreſſed Brethren in Boſton, and repaired thither with great alacrity, being in full hopes that as ſoon as the

froſt ſhould ſet in ſeverely, the ſhips would be froze up, when they expected they would be able to burn them, and recover the town. But in this they were diſappointed, by the ſoftneſs of the winter.

In the mean time, they found themſelves greatly at a loſs, for the articles of gun-powder and ſalt, with warlike ſtores, and camp implements.—But having a number of ſmall privateers, now fitted out, they captured a Britiſh ordnance tranſport, which being unarmed, and parted from the fleet, was eaſily taken, and brought them a ſeaſonable ſupply of arms, ammunition, and other camp equipage, which was blazed all over the country as a great acquiſition, and the quantity of ſtores greatly exaggerated.

The time of enliſtment of Waſhington's army being about to expire, they began to experience, that there were not ſuch lawrels to be obtained, nor ſuch pleaſures to be enjoyed in a camp, as they had imagined; and therefore expreſſed a ſtrong inclination to return home to their reſpective habitations.

But a Committee of Congreſs repairing to Boſton, on this very alarming criſis, together with General Waſhington, found means to prevail upon them to inliſt for another year, alledging, "That now was the only time they might ever have it in their power, bravely to extricate their country from impending bondage; as while the Engliſh were ſuffering for want of various neceſſaries, they might, by a ſpirited exertion, either make them priſoners of war, or oblige them to evacuate the place."

Accordingly, about the beginning of March 1776, they began to throw up works, and erect batteries for attacking the town; while General Howe, upon whom the chief command had devolved, on the departure of General Gage, in laſt October, now finding all hopes of forcing the American lines at an end, began to embark the troops, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, that about the middle of March, the whole army was on board, as well as a vaſt number of the inhabitants, with their property, who were well affected to the Britiſh government.

General Waſhington, who hitherto had remained quiet, no ſooner obſerved the rear of the army embark, than he marched his troops into the town, with great military ſtate, and other enſigns of victory.—And being uncertain of General Howe's deſtination, he diſpatched General Lee, with a detachment to ſecure the city of New York.

The Britiſh fleet having waited in the Bay more than a week, for a fair wind, at laſt ſo happily attained their deſire, that they arrived ſafe at Halifax in a few days, while ſeveral ſhips of war were ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour, in order to prevent veſſels arriving from Britain, from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Congreſs at this time began to rule with a degree of ſeverity and rigour, incident to their ſudden elevation into power; while they thought proper totally to ſuppreſs the liberty of the preſs, "Alledging, that through that channel, diſaffec-

ted perſons might ſow endleſs ſedition and animoſity among the good people of America:" and, at laſt proceeded to ſuch arbitrary meaſures, that the awful monſters, *tyranny* and *oppreſſion*, began to ſtaulk with ſtately ſtrides all over the united colonies, and wrought ſuch devaſtation, that liberty of thought only remained, as individuals durſt neither ſpeak nor write what they thought proper, unleſs in favours of their newly adopted ſyſtem of liberty.—They had alſo reſolved, that free trade ſhould be opened to all nations; and the importation of gun-powder greatly encouraged, as the making of that article had been much retarded for want of ſalt-petre, and other materials.

As I had ſtill continued my reſidence in the new ſettlements, I had no occaſion to go into the militia; the inhabitants on the frontiers having been allotted to defend themſelves againſt incurſions of the Indians, who, at this time, had been very quiet and peaceable; by which, I was permitted to remain without moleſtation, and lived in tolerable felicity, particularly when at home, in the very agreeable family where I happened to reſide.

The widow herſelf was a woman of extenſive knowledge, good principles, and complacency; neither was her only ſon and daughter any thing her inferiors in theſe very amiable qualities: and although both poſſeſſed of very large fortunes, were affable and polite to an uncommon degree. —The ſon, although but a youth, in the flower of life, neither thought himſelf above, nor was aſhamed of thoſe family regulations and religious

duties, ſo much neglected by thoſe who pretend to a higher degree of civilization.—And the daughter, although inferior to few in either mental or perſonal accompliſhments, was not only courteous and graceful in her manner, but exceedingly attentive to the domeſtic concerns.

But while I was unacquainted with the courſes of the country, I ſometimes loſt my way in the pathleſs woods, which brought me into great difficulty and trouble.—For one evening, being rather late in reaching an intending houſe, and a dark rainy night coming on, I entirely loſt my way; and after riding from one place to another, I at laſt found myſelf involved in a rugged deſart, where I alighted; and having ſcrambled up and down hills through thickets and ſwampy marſhes, I became ſo fatigued and weary, that I would fain have tied my horſe to a tree, and lain down till the morning, had I not known that he was exceſſively hungry, having rode him more than ſixty miles that day, of known road, beſides a great many after I had loſt my way.

I therefore determined to make one more attempt; and after travelling a conſiderable way, I came in ſight of a corn-field, which, upon examination, I found, belonged to the very houſe I was in queſt of; and it being now about the middle of the night, I got in, and never before felt ſo comfortable, as after I had got into bed.

Having ſtaid about a year in this new country, I happened to have occaſion to return to the lower counties; and accordingly ſet out along with four

young men, who were alſo going down: and, the firſt day of our journey, we arrived at the Mohongola-River, near a place which was ſometimes fordable, a little below where the ferry was kept.

My fellow-travellers, being either amind to ſave their money or time, in going round to the ferry, all agreed to ford the river, except myſelf, who ſtrongly oppoſed it; as I happened to have a giddy young mare, which I knew was not accuſtomed to ſwimming:—but they being unalterably determined, I was either obliged to riſque it along with them, or loſe my company; and accordingly, I followed them.

The river being more than a quarter of a mile broad, with a pretty rapid current, was now much deeper than they had imagined; and before we got half way through, the foremoſt horſes began to ſwime.

My mare no ſooner began to loſe bottom, than ſhe reared on end, and plunged me ſeveral times over head and ears in the river; and, as I could ſwime tolerably well, I was under little apprehenſions for my own ſafety; but felt a moſt ſevere vexation and regret for being ſo eaſily perſuaded.

At laſt ſhe found out the way of ſwiming; and, as I proceeded along, a little dog, belonging to one of the company, had very curiouſly planted itſelf on her back behind me: but obſerving that ſhe had enough to do beſide, I threw it off, when it immediately returned, and took poſſeſſion of its former ſeat:—I then threw it a conſiderable diſtance

away, upon which it made to the ſide with all expedition.

But, on turning my eyes around me, I obſerved more pitiable, or rather ludicrous objects: for two of our number being but indifferently mounted, were carried a conſiderably way down the river; and one of their girths having broke, his ſaddle, with all his luggage, had gone from below him, while he ſat upon the bare back, with faſt hold of the mane, grinning in a moſt ghaſtly manner.

At length, with conſiderable difficulty, we all got ſafe aſhore, and proceeded ſullenly along, in the greateſt chagrin and reſerve, being heartily ſoaked with water, and our luggage and proviſions in a great meaſure ſpoiled. But being as yet in a ſettled country, we got to a houſe, where I ſat up all night, drying my cloaths, and other articles, in order to proceed more comfortably on the enſuing day.

The ſecond night we encamped in the woods, between the Laurel-hills and Alliginay-mountains; where having turned out our horſes, and kindled a fire, we lay down to ſleep: but as I knew that my mare was exceedingly wild, I got up about the middle of the night, to try if I could hear her bell; and after ſearching the woods till clear day light, I found that ſhe was entirely gone.—I then ſet out in queſt of her anew; and having explored the woods till near mid-day, I found her almoſt ten miles back the way by which we had come.

Next night I was determined not to loſe ſight of her; and ſat up all night for that purpoſe.—I did the ſame the night following, as I was obliged

to allow her to feed in the woods: but not being aware of the effects of the want of ſleep, I became almoſt ſtupified; and during next day's journey, would be both ſleeping and awake in the ſpace of a few ſeconds, in ſpite of all endeavours to prevent it.

In this ſtate of temporary inſanity, I arrived at the Big-ſpring, in the houſe of my reverend friend, where I was put to bed, and ſlept full fourteen hours at a ſtretch.—There I remained for ſometime, while I ſhall take a review of the diſturbances which had occurred in the old ſettlements below.

As early as the beginning of the year 1775, a jealouſy had commenced between the inhabitants of Virginia and their Governor.—On their preparations for war, he had found it a neceſſary precaution to remove the ſtores of the Provincial magazine on board the ſhips of war in the night,—which the enraged populous no ſooner obſerved, than they aſſembled in great numbers, with arms, in order to recover the ammunition.

But the Governor being a firm adherent to the Britiſh government, viewed the infantile hoſtile gaſconades of the Americans, with the moſt ſupercilious contempt, and conſequently held them at Bay, which at laſt brought on a long ſeries of inteſtine ruptures, in which the Governor found it neceſſary to remove his family on board the war-ſhips; and invited all friends to government, to repair to the Royal Standard, with liberty and arms to all ſlaves who ſhould put themſelves under his protection.

Having at laſt collected a number of inhabitants

and negroes, with the aſſiſtance of a party of regular troops, he took poſſeſſion of Great-Bridge, where the Americans were entrenched within gun-ſhot, when a ſmart engagement enſued, in which the Governor, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to the ſhips of war, where a great number of North-Britons, reſidenters in Virginia, accompanied him; many of whom had left families, and large eſtates in the country.

But the inhabitants being determined to prevent them from ſupplies of proviſions, they were obliged to make frequent excurſions, by which a ſort of plundering hoſtilities enſued; and the ſhips of war moving towards the town of NORTHFOLK, the Americans thought proper to ſet it on fire, and afterwards laid the blame upon the Governor and his adherents.

Much about the ſame time, the Governor of North Carolina, having taken to the ſhips of war, granted a commiſſion to General M'Donald, to raiſe a body of friends to government in the two Carolinas: and, having collected a number of Highlanders, who had emigrated to theſe provinces, he aſſembled them at a place called Moore's Creek-bridge, where he was attacked by a party of militia, who took him priſoner, and totally diſperſed his army.

Sir Peter Parker, and Earl Cornwallis, having been ſent out early in the ſpring, with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a detachment of troops, came to Cape Fear, about the beginning of May 1776, where they found General Clinton, who had come from Boſton; and after calling at New-York and Virgi-

nia, was there waiting for their arrival, and took the command.

The ſhips having got acroſs the bar with great difficulty, the troops were landed upon Long-Iſland, while the fleet prepared to attack the Fort which had been lately erected upon Sullivan's Iſland, principally of cabbage-tree and turff, and ſtrongly fortified with artillery.

Every thing being in readineſs about the end of June, in the morning the fleet began the attack upon the Fort, when a terrible canonade enſued; during which, ſeveral frigates were ſent round, to cut off the communication with the Continent: but the pilots, by miſtake, run the Acteon a-ground, which was ſet on fire, rather than ſhe ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time, a moſt tremendous canonade ſubſiſted between the fleet and fort, while General Clinton remained on Long-Iſland with the troops; and General Lee was poſted on the Continent, in order to protect the town of Charleſtown.

Several of the ſhips being at laſt greatly damaged, and ſome of the captains killed, and others wounded, with the loſs of a number of men, they retired towards the evening; and, in a few days, the troops were embarked, and the whole expedition abandoned.

The Congreſs, immediately on the repulſe of the Britiſh troops, publiſhed the moſt exalted encomiums on their ſeveral commanders in Carolina, which had ſuch an effect upon the people in general, that every patriotic countenance ſeemed to glow with joy and exultation: and it began to be ſtrongly in-

ſinuated, that it never would be in the power of Great-Britain to ſubjugate the Thirteen United Colonies.

The Congreſs alſo, about this time, began to promulgate the abſolute neceſſity of declaring themſelves independent, as while they remained to be ſubjects of Great-Britain, no other power could be expected to lend them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance.

This was, however, warmly oppoſed by mild and conſiderate perſons, as they thought that it would not only make foes of their friends, but effectually arouſe the unanimous indignation and reſentment of the whole Britiſh empire, whoſe powerful reſources would burſt upon their heads with awful exploſion.

But the clergy, taking hold of the clew, began to draw long and ſimilar parallels between the behaviour of king Rehoboam, and that of the king of Great-Britain; aſſerting, "That he had already forſaken the wiſe council of the good old men, who had ſtood before his father, and had adviſed with thoſe who had grown up with himſelf, whoſe counſel would, in all probability, terminate in the revolt of the moſt extenſive part of his dominions. As he had not only refuſed to hearken unto their voice, but was grievouſly increaſing their burden, and going to chaſtiſe them with the worſt of all ſcorpions, an army of foreign mercenary troops, who would lead devaſtation, rapine, and murder through their then happy land."

In a word, almoſt every place of public worſhip now rung with politics, and inflamatory har-

rangues, while their ordinary ſubject was.—*What portion have we in David? and we have none inheritance in the ſon of Jeſſe: every man to* YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL: *and now David ſee to thine own houſe.—So all Iſrael went to their tents.*

From this they infered that the king of Britain, had already forfeited all right to their allegiance; and ſignificantly exclaimed unto the people, To YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL. At the ſame time obſerving, "That although their lawful reſiſtance might be attended with the effuſion of much blood; yet there was great hope of thoſe who ſhould fall upon the high places of the field, bravely defending their religion and liberty."

The track being thus beat, at laſt upon the 4th day of July 1776, the Congreſs ſent forth the declaration of the Independency of the thirteen United States of North America; which ſtruck a vaſt number of people with conſternation and terror, as they now thought they ſaw the BRITISH LYON arouſing from his ſleep, and roaring terribly in their ears.

The Congreſs, who were never deficient in any thing that might tend to the enforcement of their reſolves, had iſſued a long ſeries of reaſons, for this audacious proceeding: and, at the ſame time, recommended to each of the reſpective ſtates, to call a convention, or new aſſembly, in order to frame a ſyſtem of laws, for their temporary government.

But the chooſing of theſe provincial aſſemblies, ſeemed to be attended with more difficulty than was at firſt imagined; for great part of the people

were of opinion, "That the conventions ought to be compoſed of men, eminent both for learning and knowledge; and that even a few of thoſe who had practiſed the old laws would be neceſſary in compoſing the new."

This, however, was warmly oppoſed by a great diviſion, who entertained a natural averſion to lawyers; aſſerting, "That as the PEOPLE were the bulwark of liberty, and every other ſyſtem, their laws ought to be compiled in a plain, intelligible ſtile; whereas lawyers, and thoſe who had their heads full of ſophiſtical learning, and metaphyſical argument, would frame them in ſuch a complex and intricate manner, as nobody could underſtand them, but themſelves." The conventions were at laſt ſettled, and a formal declaration of *Independency*, publiſhed in their Gazettes in the following words.

"WHEN, in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to aſſume, among the powers of the earth, the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God intitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation.

"We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of

happineſs.—That to ſecure theſe rights, governments are inſtituted among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive to theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or aboliſh it, and to inſtitute a new government, laying its foundations on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs.

" Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes; and accordingly, all experience hath ſhewn, that mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the forms to which they are accuſtomed: but when a long train of abuſes and uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame object, evinces a deſign to reduce them under abſolute deſpotiſm, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off ſuch government, and to provide new guards for their future ſecurity.—Such has been the patient ſufferance of theſe colonies; and ſuch is now the neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former ſyſtems of government. [*The Declaration then proceeds to recount their ſeveral grievances, which have been ſo often inſerted, that they ſhall, with permiſſion, be left out, while it draws to a concluſion in the following words.*]

" In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions we have petitioned for redreſs, in the moſt humble terms: our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injuries.—A prince, whoſe character is

thus marked, by every act, which may define a *tyrant*, is unfit to be the ruler of a FREE PEOPLE.

" Nor have we been wanting in attention to our Britiſh brethren.—We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legiſlators, to extend an unwarrantable juriſdiction over us: we have reminded them of the circumſtances of our emigration and ſettlement here: we have appealed to their native juſtice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindneſs, to diſavow theſe uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correſpondence:—They too have been deaf to the voice of juſtice and conſanguinity.—We muſt therefore acquieſce in the neceſſity which denounces our ſeparation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of mankind, *enemies in war; in peace, friends*.

" We, therefore, the repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES of America, in general Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the ſupreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of theſe colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, That theſe United Colonies, are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES:—And that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown; and that all political connections between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally diſſolved; and that, as free and independent ſtates, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace,

contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which independent ſtates may of right do.—And, for the ſupport of this DECLARATION, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congreſs,

JOHN HANCOCK, *Preſident.*

Atteſt. CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*"

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings in Canada.—Governor Carleton reinforced, and defeats the Americans.—General Burgoyne recovers Forts St. John, Montreal, and Chamblee.—The Britiſh army leave Halifax, and go round to Sandy-hook.—Admiral Howe arrives at Staten-Iſland with a great army, and power to pardon the Americans.—The Congreſs reject the Conciliatory Bill.—General Waſhington refuſes to open the diſpatches ſent him by the Commiſſioners.—The battle of Long-Iſland.—A Committee of Congreſs wait upon Lord Howe on Staten-Iſland; but are unſatisfied with the terms of peace.—The Britiſh army take poſſeſſion of New-York, which is ſet on fire.—The battle of White Plains.—The reduction of Forts Waſhington and Lee.—Rhode-Iſland taken.—The Britiſh army over-run the Jerſeys.—General Lee taken.—The American army greatly reduced.—The Congreſs flee to Baltimore, and proceed with great ſtability, while anarchy and diſcontent rage all over the Colonies.—General Waſhington ſurprizes, and takes a body of Heſſians at Trenton, which animates the Americans.—The engagement at Princeton.—The articles of Confederation between the Provinces of America.

WHILE affairs were thus going on in the other Colonies, the ſiege of Quebec had been in ſome degree re-aſſumed by the Americans,

who had alſo exerted various unſucceſsful efforts to ſet the town on fire; till at laſt the Iſis man of war and two frigates, arrived from England, with ſuccours to the garriſon, and a ſmall detachment of land forces and marines, with which, and the troops in the fort, General Carleton marched out about the beginning of May 1776, and totally routed and diſperſed the Provincials.

Several regiments from Britain and Ireland having arrived about the end of May, being part of the brave army, afterwards under the command of General Burgoyne; they rendezvouſed at a place called Three-Rivers, about half way between Quebec and Montreal, where they were attacked by a party of Americans, under the command of one General Thomſon; whom, however, they eaſily repulſed, while General Burgoyne and the reſt of the army advanced along the Sorrel-river to St. John's, Montreal, and Chamblee, which were all abandoned on their approach; the American army retreating with great precipitation, till they got back to Crownpoint.

General Howe having remained at Halifax, in expectation of reinforcements, till near the middle of June, at laſt grew impatient, and came round with the army to Staten-Iſland, beſide New-York, where he landed the troops about the beginning of July, and was ſoon after joined by a great number of friends to government, and even ſome of the principal inhabitants, who were diſpleaſed with the Declaration of Independence.

In the mean time, Admiral Lord Viſcount Howe, who had come out from England with a formidable

force, had gone to Halifax; but finding that his brother the General was gone to Staten-Iſland with the army, he alſo put round, and arrived there about the middle of July.

A ſcheme of reconciliation with America having been previouſly agreed to by the parliament of Great-Britain, Admiral and General Howe's were appointed Commiſſioners for holding forth the offers of peace, mercy, and reconciliation to thoſe turbulent and rebellious ſubjects; and accordingly, a little after their arrival at Staten-Iſland, they tranſmitted, by flags of truce, to the ſeveral old governors, copies of the conciliatory bill, attended by a long declaration of pardon to all who were diſpoſed to accept of the offers of peace, and were willing to return to their former allegiance.

Theſe, however, were immediately publiſhed by Congreſs, in all the American news-papers, with a long comment or reſolve of their own, in which they contemptuouſly explained to the people the nature of the powers with which the commiſſioners were entruſted: Obſerving, "That it was a very laughable matter, to offer pardon to thoſe who had never offended; but were only aſſerting their rights and privileges: and that it would be much more conſiſtent, with the nature of the caſe, for Britain to aſk pardon of them, for attempting to rob them of their liberties, and oppreſs them with unreaſonable exactions."

Diſpatches were then ſent over to New-York, directed to GEORGE WASHINGTON, Eſq; which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to accept, as they

were not directed according to his character and dignity in the army of the United States.

The Congreſs highly applauded this dignity of conduct in a public reſolution, in which they deſired, that none of their commanders ſhould receive any letters from the enemy, if not directed according to the reſpective characters which they ſuſtained.

Adjutant General Paterſon was at length ſent over with diſpatches, directed to GEORGE WASHINGTON, Eſq; *&c. &c. &c.* and arrived at Head Quarters in the American camp, where he was received with the greateſt politeneſs and military ſtate, by General Waſhington, who again refuſed to open the diſpatches, as they were not directed according as he had deſired.

Colonel Paterſon obſerved, that although they were not directed in the expreſs terms he had mentioned, yet the *et ceteras* implied every thing; and he hoped, " that a gentleman of his abilities and moderation, would not think of breaking off a treaty ſo pregnant with the welfare of America, and all Britiſh ſubjects, for ſuch a trivial omiſſion."

To which General Waſhington replied, " that although the *et ceteras* might imply *every thing*, yet at the ſame time they might imply *any thing*. And however trifling a matter he might imagine the form of direction to be, yet he intended to hold it as a cardinal point, being the grand hinge upon which the opening of the treaty on his part ſhould turn; the Congreſs being reſolved to hear no proffers from Britain, unattended with the confirmation of Independence."

Thus all hopes of a reconciliation being over, for ſome time; and the Britiſh commiſſioners, while they held forth the olive branch in one hand, at the ſame time brandiſhed a flaming ſword in the other; and were buſily employed in making every preparation for reducing them by force of arms.

For, the firſt diviſion of Heſſians, and moſt part of the Britiſh troops being arrived, as well as the army from the ſouth, under the command of General Clinton, on the 22d of Auguſt, the whole army paſſed over to Long-Iſland, and landed at Utretch and Graveſend, under cover of the warſhips; where, having ſtaid a few days, putting themſelves in a proper diſpoſition, they moved towards the American army, then encamped at Brookline, under the command of General Putnam, who had detached his flying army to poſſeſs the heights of Guana, or hills, which lay between the two armies.

The Britiſh forces now extended the whole breadth of the Iſland, between Jamiaca-bay, and the Eaſt-river: the principal part of the army, compoſing the right wing, being commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Earl Piercy. —The centre was compoſed of the Heſſians, under the command of General Heiſler, at Flat-buſh; and the left of Britiſh, commanded by General Grant. —Every thing being in readineſs, on the evening of the 26th, as ſoon as it was dark, General Clinton at the head of the granadiers, light infantry, and light cavalry, with fourteen pieces of canon, croſſed the hills at a place called New-Lots, and happily arrived at the great road between Jamiaca and

Bedford; where turning towards the former of theſe places, they ſeized upon a paſs of the greateſt importance, which, through negligence, or ignorance in the American Generals, had been left unguarded.

The paſs being thus opened by Earl Percy, following at a diſtance with ten field pieces, the whole right wing got acroſs the hills without noiſe or interruption, and arrived in the level country below Bedford, between Putnam's lines and his advanced army,—which, being now incloſed, were furiouſly attacked in front by the Heſſians and General Grant's diviſion, while, in attempting to retreat to their works, they were met and drove back, by General Clinton's diviſion; by which they were kept toſſing between two fires, for great part of the day, with incredible ſlaughter, till they at laſt took through a marſh, where a great many were drowned, and the reſt eſcaped back to the lines, expoſed to the fire of their purſuers.

Their whole loſs in this engagement, was allowed to amount to near 3000 men, including killed, taken, and wounded.—Of this great number only about 1100 were priſoners, among whom were Generals Sulivan, Stirling, and Udell; beſides three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, eleven enſigns, one adjutant, three ſurgeons; and ſomething more than 1000 privates;—beſides thirty-two pieces of canon, and a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and ammunition.—The loſs of the Britiſh and Heſſians, was conſiderably ſmaller than might have been expected, being in all under

380; in which, were only ſix officers killed, and fifteen wounded.

Next day the Britiſh army entrenched before the American lines, and ſeemed as if they intended a long and ceremonious ſiege; but General Waſhington having come over from New-York, ordered a retreat, which had been exceedingly well ſecured; in conſequence of which, the whole American troops on Long-Iſland, croſſed over to New-York, on the night of the 29th, with ſuch amazing ſecrecy, that they were neither heard nor obſerved by the Britiſh troops, who lay in their front, till they were all out of danger.

Soon after the battle of Long-Iſland, General Sulivan was ſent on parole to Congreſs, if poſſible to perſuade that ſelf-important aſſembly, to take the conciliatory bill into conſideration; and his ſolicitations were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that Dr. Frankline, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, were appointed a Committee, and waited upon Lord Howe on Staten-Iſland: but finding that they were poſſeſſed of little other powers, than that of granting pardons, they returned without coming to any other agreement.

The taking of the iſland and city of New-York, therefore, became the next object in the view of the Britiſh forces; and, for that purpoſe, it was inveſted by a formidable fleet, while the troops croſſed over from Long-Iſland, about the middle of September, a few miles above the city of New-York, and proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the town.

The Americans, finding the city no longer tenable, retired to King's-Bridge, in great precipitation, leaving behind them their ſtores and artillery: and a brigade of Britiſh troops being quartered in the city, the reſt encamped about the middle of the iſland, which, although more than fifteen miles long, is not above one broad.

General Howe had not been many days in poſſeſſion of New-York, when ſome incendiaries who had ſtaid behind, ſet it on fire at ſeveral places, about the middle of the night; and being moſtly built of wood, and at that ſeaſon of the year very dry, burned with ſuch uncontrolable rapidity, that, in ſpite of the activity of the inhabitants, and Britiſh troops, about one third of the city was reduced to aſhes.

General Howe, having left the city of New-York, under the command of Earl Percy, embarked with a large detachment of troops, and landed at Frogs-Neck, on the Connecticut ſide of the continent, where he was joined by General Knyphauſen, and the ſecond diviſion of Heſſians, with a regiment of Waldeckers, and ſome light horſe, from Ireland, with which he proceeded to the White Plains, and attacked the American army, which he, at laſt, obliged to retreat, after a ſort of ſkirmiſhing engagement, containing a long ſeries of ceremonious manuœvers:—but, diſdaining to take an advantage of their confuſion and diſorder, he let them retire with little moleſtation, while General Knyphauſen, having taken poſſeſſion of King's-Bridge, advanced towards Fort-Waſhington, upon the New-York ſide of the North River;

and, at this time, commanded by one colonel Magaw, with about 3000 men.

The attack upon the fort, was put in execution by four grand diviſions. The firſt, on the North, was led on by General Knyphaſen, at the head of two columns of Heſſians and Waldeckers;—the ſecond by Earl Cornwallis and General Matthew, with a detachment of light infantry and guards;—the third by Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, and the 42d regiment; and the fourth by Earl Percy, with the corps which he commanded.—All theſe puſhed on with great impetuoſity and ſucceſs: and the fort, being at laſt overpowered by numbers, was obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

Immediately after this acquiſition, Earl Cornwallis croſſed over to the Jerſeys, in order to take Fort-Lee, upon the North-River, oppoſite to Fort-Waſhington, which was precipitantly abandoned on his approach, leaving behind, their artillery, ammunition, and ſtores.

While matters were thus ſucceſsful in the Jerſeys, General Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of war-ſhips, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, had gone and taken poſſeſſion of Rhode-Iſland, which being alſo abandoned by the Provincials, was obtained without loſs.

The Britiſh forces, having been thus repeatedly ſucceſsful, ſince their landing on Staten-Iſland, towards the beginning of December, totally over-run the Jerſeys; and, with little oppoſition, extended their cantonments from New-Brunſwick, along the Delaware; having in poſſeſſion the towns of Prince-

ton, Trenton, and Burlington, within twenty miles of Philadelphia; the American army every where flying before them, in the greateſt confuſion and diſmay.

In this alarming ſituation of their affairs, General Lee, that favourite officer, having quartered at a houſe in too great ſecurity, and at ſome diſtance from the main body,—Colonel Harcourt, of the light dragoons, that enterprizing corps, having been informed of his ſituation, went with a party of his troop; and, with ſurprizing addreſs and activity, ſeized the centries without noiſe, and forcing the guard, carried off Lee priſoner, and eſcaped ſafe back, although ſeveral out-poſts and patroles lay in the way.

General Lee, having been formerly in the Britiſh ſervice, was immediately on his capture, confined as a deſerter; and accordingly treated with all the ſeverity which a ſtate criminal of the firſt magnitude could have experienced, in the moſt alarming political conjuncture.

General Waſhington, with his ordinary acumen, endeavoured to evince, that as General Lee had reſigned his half pay, in the Britiſh ſervice, before the commencement of the war, he could not properly be accounted a deſerter: and having no officer of equal rank priſoner, he propoſed to give ſix field officers in exchange.

This propoſal being haughtily rejected by the Britiſh commander, induced the Americans to make retaliation; and Colonel Campbell, who hitherto had received every indulgence from the people of Boſton, was now thrown into a dungeon, and

treated with a degree of ſeverity and rigour, equal to that which Lee experienced, while the Congreſs declared, that the priſoners in their hands ſhould be, in every reſpect, anſwerable for any violence offered to his perſon.

The American army, which, at the opening of the campaign, was ſaid to conſiſt of near 26,000 men, was now greatly reduced by ſlaughter, captivity, and deſertion; and the time of inliſtment of great part of what remained, being expired, they and the militia returned home, without any ceremony, leaving their ſteady commander with only about 3000, very ineffective men, to oppoſe the ſucceſsful progreſs of a numerous army of veteran troops.

Such, therefore, was their conſternation and terror, that the whole fabric of American government began to totter from its loweſt baſis, while it was generally allowed, that a proper exertion of the Britiſh army, at this time, would have thrown it into abſolute diſſolution; for, they had all along been fully confident, that the Britiſh troops could never penetrate into the country, any farther than they were protected by the ſhips of war.

But their rapid progreſs through the Jerſeys, with the taking of General Lee, had broken the enchantment, and filled all ranks of people with ſuch dejection and diſcontent, that they poſitively refuſed to take Congreſs money as payment, imagining that a few days more would reduce it to total annihilation: while anarchy and confuſion raged in the country, to ſuch a degree, that the

people were upon the point of relinquiſhing their new leaders; and it was evident to every perſon there preſent, that had the Britiſh army only croſſed the Delaware, which, it was thought, they might eaſily have done, and taken poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, that the war would have been at an end.

The Congreſs having fled to Baltimore, on the approach of the Britiſh army, ſo near Philadelphia, there regulated the political helm, even in their greateſt extremity, with ſuch undaunted reſolution and ſtability, as muſt be aſtoniſhing to all ages.—Finding that temporary armies were totally inadequate to the purpoſe, they RESOLVED, that a new army ſhould be raiſed for during the war, to conſiſt of 88 regiments; each man to receive twenty dollars bounty, and eight dollars *per* month. The officers to be appointed by Congreſs, and to riſe in the army only by merit, without any purchaſe.

But the Americans, not being accuſtomed to reſtraint, or ſubordination, would not engage for the indefinite term of *during the war:* upon which the Congreſs thought proper to alter the time, to that of three years.

They alſo publiſhed a long addreſs to the people of the ſeveral Colonies, ſetting forth the cauſes of the war, and inciting to perſeverance; inforcing their arguments, by long enumerations of the barbarities of the Britiſh troops, as well as their Heſſian auxiliaries.—But, notwithſtanding the ſeveral remonſtrances of Congreſs, and their aſſuring their conſtituents of foreign aid, the oppoſition and diſcontents in Philadelphia, at laſt became ſo powerful, that General Waſhington was obliged to ſend

General Stirling, with a party of troops, to keep them in awe.

A conſiderable reinforcement of Pennſylvania and Virginia militia, having been at laſt, with difficulty collected, General Waſhington, with a detachment of about 2500 men, and twenty ſmall field pieces, croſſed the Delaware, a few miles above Trenton, on Chriſtmaſs night, and having arrived at a cantonment of Heſſians, commanded by Colonel Rall, ſecurely encamped beſide Trenton, he attacked them, with great judgment, about eight o'clock in the morning; and, after a ſhort ſkirmiſh, in which Colonel Rall was mortally wounded, he carried off ſome more than 900 priſoners, who were, next day, marched in great triumph through the city of Philadelphia, and properly ſecured in the interior parts of the country.

This unexpected ſucceſsful enterprize, immediately inſpired the Americans with ſuch courage and animation, that joy now ſhone in every patriotic countenance; and the friends of government, who lately began to peep out their horns, were obliged to ſhrink into ſilence and caution.

The bravery of General Waſhington was reſounded as almoſt ſupernatural; and it began to be generally believed, that the Britiſh were neither ſo invincible nor formidable as they had imagined; and were therefore reſpectively ambitious to ſhine in the extirpation of their enemies, and the redemption of their country.

General Waſhington having, at laſt, collected a pretty reſpectable army, croſſed over to the Jerſeys, where he attacked the Britiſh troops ſtationed at

Princeton, under the command of colonel Mawhood; who, after a ſevere engagement, made good their retreat to Brunſwick; while the whole Britiſh army found it neceſſary to go into winter quarters, and only occupied the poſts of Amboy and Brunſwick, in the Jerſeys from whence they had a communication by water to New-York.

General Waſhington, having thus recovered great part of the Jerſeys, ſtrongly fortified his encampment at Middle-Broch, where he remained for great part of the winter.

In the mean time the Congreſs having now retrieved their affairs from impending ruin; and being fully confident of future ſucceſs, they proceeded to ratify the articles of confederation, which they had drawn up about the beginning of October; and as theſe are the grand pillars upon which the preſent fabrication of American government now ſtands, under the ſuppoſition of independence, it is preſumed that it will be very acceptable here to inſert an original copy of theſe.

" *Articles of Confederation, and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampſhire, Maſſachuſets-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, Penſylvania, the counties of New-Caſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on Dalaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia.*

ARTICLE I. " The thirteen States, above-mentioned, confederate themſelves under the title of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

II. " They contract, each in their own name, by the preſent conſtitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendſhip, for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themſelves to aſſiſt each other, againſt all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them; and to repel, in common, all the attacks that may be levelled againſt all or any one of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatſoever.

III. " Each ſtate reſerves to themſelves alone, the excluſive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws, in all matters, that are not included in the articles of the preſent confederation, and which cannot any way prejudize the ſame.

IV. " No ſtate in particular ſhall either ſend or receive embaſſies, begin any negociations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatſoever, without the conſent of the united States, aſſembled in general Congreſs.—No perſon, inveſted with any poſt whatever, under the authority of the united States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employments, or whether it be a commiſſion purely confidential, ſhall be allowed to accept any preſents, gratuities, emoluments, or any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers. And the general Aſſembly of the united States, nor any ſtate

in particular, ſhall not confer any title of nobility.

V. " Two, nor ſeveral of the ſaid States, ſhall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themſelves, without the conſent of the united States, aſſembled in general Congreſs; and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly ſpecified in the conſent.

VI. " No State ſhall lay on any impoſts, nor eſtabliſh any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter, directly or indirectly, the clauſes of the treaties to be concluded, hereafter, by the aſſembly of the united States, with any kings, princes, or powers whatſoever.

VII. " There ſhall not be kept by any of the ſaid States, in particular, any veſſels or ſhips of war; above the number judged neceſſary, by the Aſſembly of the united States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there ſhall not be kept on foot, in time of peace, by any of the ſaid States, any troops above the number determined by the Aſſembly of the united States, to guard the ſtrong places or forts, neceſſary for the defence of that State; but each State ſhall always keep a well-diſciplined militia, ſufficiently armed and equipped;—and ſhall be careful to procure and keep in conſtant readineſs, in the public magazines, a ſufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition, and implements of war.

VIII. " When any of the ſaid States ſhall raiſe troops, for the common defence, all the officers

of the rank of colonel, and under, ſhall be appointed by the legiſlative body of the State, that ſhall have raiſed the troops, or in ſuch manner as that State ſhall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and, when any vacancy happens in theſe poſts, they ſhall be filled up by the ſaid State.

IX. " All the expences of war, and other deburſements that ſhall be made for the common defence, or the general weal; and that ſhall be ordered by the Aſſembly of the united States, ſhall be paid out of the funds of a common treaſury.—That common treaſury ſhall be formed, by the contribution of each of the aforeſaid States, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of every age, ſex, or quality, except the Indians, who ſhall be exempt from taxes in each State: and, in order to fix the quota of the contribution, every three years, the inhabitants ſhall be numbered; in which enumeration, the number of white people ſhall be diſtinguiſhed, and that enumeration ſhall be ſent to the general Aſſembly of the united States.—The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, ſhall be laid, and levied in the extent of each ſtate, by the authority and orders of its legiſlative body, within the time fixed by the Aſſembly of the united States.

X. " Each of the ſaid States ſhall ſubmit to the deciſions of the Aſſembly of the united States, in all matters, or queſtions, reſerved to that aſſembly by the preſent act of confederation.

XI. " No ſtate ſhall engage in war, without the conſent of the united States aſſembled in Congreſs,

except in case of actual invasion of some enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken, by some Indian nation, to attack them; and in that case only in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to consult the other States. No particular state shall give any commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the assembly of the united States; and even in that case, they shall be granted only against the kingdom or power, or against the subjects of the kingdom, or of the power against which war shall have been so declared; and shall conform, respecting these objects, to the regulations made by the assembly of the united States.

XII. "In order to watch over the general interest of the united States, and direct the general affairs, there shall be nominated every year, according to the form settled by the legislative body of each state, a certain number of delegates, who shall sit at Philadelphia, until the general assembly of the united States shall have ordered otherwise; and the first Monday in November of each year, shall be the æra fixed for their meeting.——Each of the above-mentioned States, shall preserve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their delegates, or any one of them, and to send others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the said States shall maintain their delegates, during the time of the general assembly; and also during the time they shall be members of the council of state, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

XIII. " Each ſtate ſhall have a vote for the deciſion of queſtions in the general Aſſembly.

XIV. " The general aſſembly of the united States, ſhall alone, and excluſively, have the right and power to decide, of peace and war, except in the caſe mentioned in Article XI.: to eſtabliſh rules for judging in all caſes the legitimacy of the prizes, taken by ſea or land; and to determine the manner in which the prizes, taken by the ſea or land forces, in the ſervice of the united States, ſhall be divided or employed: to grant letters of marque, or repriſal, in time of peace: to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high ſeas: to eſtabliſh tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all caſes of prizes: to ſend and receive ambaſſadors: to negociate and conclude treaties and alliances: to decide all differences actually ſubſiſting, and that may ariſe hereafter, between two or ſeveral of the after-mentioned States, about limits, juriſdiction, or any other cauſe whatſoever: to coin money, and fix its value and ſtandard: to fix the weights and meaſures, throughout the whole extent of the united States: to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians, who are not members of any of the States: to eſtabliſh and regulate the poſts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the united States; and to receive on the letters and packets, ſent by poſt, the neceſſary tax to defray the expence of that eſtabliſhment: to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the ſervice of the united States: to give commiſſions to

the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of article the 8th: to appoint all officers of marine in the service of the united States: to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces, and to direct their operations.

" The general Assembly of the united States, shall be authorized to appoint a council of State, and such committees and civil officers, as they shall judge necessary, for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the council of state.—They shall chuse for president, one of their members; and for secretary, the person they shall judge fit for that place: and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place of the united States they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sum, necessary to be raised, and the deburſements necessary to be made; to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the united States; to build and fit out fleets; to determine the number of troops to be raised, or kept in pay: and to require, of each of the aforesaid States, to compose the army by a contingent proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

" These requisitions of the general Assembly shall be binding; and in consequence the legislative body of each State, shall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and these officers and soldiers, thus armed

and equiped, ſhall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the general Aſſembly.

" But if the general Aſſembly, from ſome particular circumſtances, ſhould think proper to exempt one or ſeveral of the States from raiſing troops, or demand of them leſs than their contingent, and ſhould, on the contrary, judge it convenient that one, or ſeveral others, ſhould raiſe more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded, ſhall be raiſed, provided with officers, armed and equipt in the ſame manner as the contingent, unleſs the legiſlative body of that, or of thoſe of the ſtate, to whom the requiſition ſhall have been made, ſhould deem it dangerous for themſelves, to be drained of that number extraordinary; and in that caſe, they ſhall furniſh no more than what they think compatible, with their ſafety; and the officers and ſoldiers, ſo raiſed and equiped, ſhall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the general Aſſembly.

" The general Aſſembly ſhall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque, or repriſal, in time of peace; nor contract any treaties of alliance, or other conventions, except to make peace; nor coin money, nor regulate its value, or determine or affix the ſums neceſſary to be raiſed, or the deburſements neceſſary to be made, for the defence or advantage of the united States, or of ſome of them, nor create bills, nor borrow money, on the credit of the united States, nor diſpoſe of any ſums of money, nor reſolve on the number of ſhips of war to be built or purchaſed, or on the number of troops to be raiſed, for land or ſea ſervice, nor appoint a

commander in chief of the land or ſea forces, but by the united conſent of nine of the States; and no queſtion on any point whatſoever except the adjourning from one day to another, ſhall be determined, but by a majority of the united States. —No delegate ſhall be choſen for more than three years out of ſix.—No perſon inveſted with any employment whatever, in the extent of the united States, and receiving by virtue of that employment, either by himſelf, or through the hands of any other for him, any ſallaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, ſhall be choſen a delegate.—The general Aſſembly, ſhall publiſh every month a journal of their ſeſſions, except what ſhall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it ſhall appear to them that theſe matters ought to be kept ſecret.—The opinions, *pro* and *can*, of the delegates of each ſtate, ſhall be entered in the Journals as often as any of the delegates of each State ſhall ſo demand; or even to any one of the delegates of each State, at his particular requiſition, ſhall be given a copy of the Journal, except the parts above-mentioned, to be carried to the legiſlative body of his reſpective State.

XV. " The council of State ſhall be compoſed of one delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other delegates of his reſpective State. —And the caſe where the electors might not be able to agree, that delegate ſhall be nominate by the general Aſſembly.—The council of State ſhall be authorized to receive and open all the letters, addreſſed to the united States, and anſwer them; but ſhall not contract any engagements binding

to the united States.—They ſhall correſpond with the legiſlative bodies of each State, and with all perſons employed under the authority of the united States, or of ſome of the particular legiſlative bodies. They ſhall addreſs themſelves to theſe legiſlative bodies, or the officers to whom each ſtate ſhall have entruſted the executive power, for aid and aſſiſtance of every kind, as occaſion ſhall require.—They ſhall give inſtructions to the generals, and direct the military operations, by land or by ſea; but without making any alterations in the objects, or expeditions, determined by the general Aſſembly, unleſs a change of circumſtances intervening, and coming to their knowledge, ſince the breaking up of the Aſſembly, ſhould render a change of meaſures indiſpenſibly neceſſary.—They ſhall be careful of the defence and preſervation of the fortreſſes, or fortified ports.—They ſhall procure information of the ſituations and deſigns of the enemy.—They ſhall put in execution the meaſures and plans that ſhall have been reſolved by the general Aſſembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are inveſted, by the preſent confederation.—They ſhall draw upon the treaſurers for the ſums, the deſtination of which, ſhall have been ſettled by the general Aſſembly, and for the payment of the contracts, which they may have made, by virtue of the powers that are granted to them.—They ſhall inſpect and reprove, they ſhall even ſuſpend all officers, civil or military, acting under the authority of the united States.—In the caſe of death, or ſuſpenſion of any officer, whoſe nomination belongs to the general Aſſembly, they

may replace him by what perſon they think proper, until the next Aſſembly.—They may publiſh and diſperſe authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the general Aſſembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned, when they ſeparated, if any important and unexpected event ſhould require it, for the welfare or benefit of the united States, or of ſome of them.—They ſhall prepare the matters that are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the general Aſſembly, and lay before them, at the next ſitting, all the letters or advices by them received, and ſhall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.—They ſhall take for their Secretary, a perſon fit for the employment, who, before he enters on his function, ſhall take an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity.—The preſence of ſeven members of the council, will impower them to act. In caſe of the death of one of their members, the council ſhall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceaſed, that they may chuſe one of themſelves to replace him in the council, until the holding of the next general meeting; and incaſe there ſhould be one of his colleagues living, the ſame notice ſhall be given to him, that he may come and take his ſeat, until the next ſitting.

XVI. "In caſe that Canada ſhould be willing to accede to the preſent confederation, and come into all the meaſures of the united States, it ſhall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other Colony ſhall be admitted, without the conſent of nine of the States.

" The above articles ſhall be propoſed to the legiſlative bodies of all the united States, to be examined by them; and if they approve of them, they are deſired to authorize their delegates to ratify them in the general Aſſembly: after which, all the articles, which conſtitute the preſent confederation, ſhall be inviolably obſerved, by all and every one of the united States; and the union ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.

" There ſhall not be made hereafter any alteration in theſe articles, nor in any of them, unleſs that the alterations be previouſly determined in the general Aſſembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legiſlative bodies of each of the United States."

Reſolved and ſigned in Congreſs, at Philadelphia, October 4th, 1776.

CHAP. VII.

I return to the back woods.—A ſtory of an habitual ſwearer.—A ſcheme for forming a new ſettlement.—Troops raiſed in the frontier ſettlements.—I am taken into cuſtody for refuſing the oath of allegiance to Congreſs, and releaſed by the Commandant of a regiment.—The Indians come to Pitſburgh, and ſettle a treaty of peace; but ſoon break out in war: in conſequence of which, I am ſent up the Alliginay-river; and afterwards ſent to the Indian country; from whence I repair to Philadelphia.—Corps of Loyaliſts raiſed in New-York.—Stores deſtroyed at Danbury.—General Howe attempts to draw Waſhington out of his ſtrong holds.—Skirmiſhes at Quibbleton.—The Britiſh army embarked and put to ſea.—General Preſcot taken.—The Britiſh appear off the Delaware; the conſternation of the Americans on that account.—The Britiſh land at the head of Elk.—The Americans take poſt at Wilmington.—I leave Philadelphia for the Britiſh army, and falls in with a party of Americans, but eſcapes by a ſtratagem; and, after a ſeries of adventures, I get within the Britiſh lines, where I am appointed to an office in the army.

MY buſineſs in the Lower Counties being finiſhed, I ſet out about the beginning of winter, on my return to the New Settlements, along with

ſome people who were going out thither; and had not got far on our journey, when it fell ſuch a ſtorm of ſnow, as rendered it not only tedious, but very diſagreeable travelling: for, when we came to take up our night's quarters, we had no better lodging than a bed among the ſnow, by ſecuring ourſelves from the intenſe cold the beſt way we could.

After travelling for ſome days, in this moſt uncomfortable manner, we got to a flat on the top of the Alliginay-mountains, where a man lived, who, on account of his exceſſive ſwearing, and haughty demeanor, was commonly denominated *Saucy Jack:* and had arrived at ſuch proficiency in the modern gentlemany ſtyle, that he could not ſpeak one ſingle ſentence without interlarding it with terrifying oaths and imprecations.

But this accompliſhment ſeemed altogether unneceſſary, in the tranſacting a particular piece of buſineſs, which occurred a little before our arrival on the mount. For Jack, who had never ſet his eyes on a clergyman, ſince the delivery of his wife, being ſeveral months, was at laſt informed, that there was one in a company then in his houſe; but was ſo exceedingly ſtrict, that he would not baptize his child, if he ſhould happen to hear him utter one ſyllable of an oath.

The addreſſing of the miniſter, therefore, became a grievous taſk to Jack, who had never been accuſtomed to ſpeak without ſwearing: and, for that purpoſe, he went to the end of the houſe, where he diſcharged his loquacity of repeated vollies of

oaths and execrations, with rapid explosion. And at last, imagining himself fully prepared to speak to the minister, he came in, and informed him, that he had a child to baptize, and hoped that he would do him that piece of service.

The clergyman, eyeing him with a serious attention, asked him to what profession of Christians he belonged, and whether he had ever, by his own desire, been admitted as a member of the visible church.—To which Jack replied, "That he belonged to no company of Christians, but believed there was a God, and hoped to be saved as well as another; and as for churches, there were none on the Alliginay-mountains."

The minister then asked him, if ever he had learned the Catechisms, composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.—At which Jack lost all patience, and told him, that he had nothing by heart, but the mariner's compass, which he had learned when an officer on board of his Majesty's navy: and as for the Westminster divines, says Jack, "dem my eyes and limbs if ever I heard of such people before." Upon which he was dismissed as unqualified; while he retired venting his breath in hideous curses, upon the "whimsical superstition of the bigotted clergyman."

Having proceeded on our journey, we at last got safe to New-Virginia, where I fixed my residence at my former habitation, and prosecuted my former employment.

During the winter, a young clergyman had come out to preach in the new settlements, who also lodged at the widow's house, with whom I

concerted a plan of forming a new ſettlement down the Ohio-river; and, for that purpoſe, called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, before whom we laid the following ſcheme, which we had drawn up: "That as ſoon as a reſpectable number of ſubſcribers could be found to encourage the important undertaking, a number of commiſſioners, every way qualified for the purpoſe, with a land-ſurveyor, ſhould be appointed to go down the Ohio-river, and, to the utmoſt of their capacity, ſearch out a valuable tract of land, ten miles ſquare, or more, well watered, of a healthful climate, and convenient for navigation."

When ſuch a tract was found, the ſurveyor, with the aſſiſtance of the commiſſioners, was to lay it off in equal parts, each plantation to contain 500 acres, which were to be numbered and divided by lot, from the ſurveyor's draught on his return.—A place for a meeting-houſe was to be fixed in the centre, with a plantation appropriated for the miniſter who ſhould go along with us.

The ſcheme was highly applauded, and received with univerſal approbation; and copies thereof were committed, with proper perſons appointed as truſtees, who were to admit none as ſubſcribers, but reſpectable people, by which we expected to have, not only a peaceable, but an agreeable ſociety.

At laſt, the miniſter was ordered by the preſbytery, to North-Carolina; and a circumſtance occurred, in a few weeks after, which put a period to the ſcheme, at leaſt for that ſeaſon.

The Congreſs had ordered a regiment to be raiſed in the frontiers of Pennſylvania, which was at laſt

compleated, and poſted at the Kittaning, upon the Alliginay-river, where the men were ſo ill uſed by their officers, that a great many deſerted; and the reſt were ordered, contrary to their expectations, down to Head Quarters, to join General Waſhington.

A regiment was next ordered to be raiſed in New Virginia; but the fate of the former rendered the inliſting almoſt impracticable, as the people in the back woods were very willing to fight the Indians, but did not chooſe to go ſo far from their families, to engage in the war with Britain.—The Congreſs, therefore, in order to remove their ſcruples, thought proper to pledge their *faith* and *honour*, that the regiment ſhould not be taken eaſt of the Alliginay-mountains; upon which the recruiting began to be more ſucceſsful.

Some of my well-wiſhers imagining, that nothing would be more agreeable to me than an office in the army, had, by a very unacceptable and unlucky piece of friendſhip, got me appointed to a commiſſion in this new regiment; which honour, I poſitively refuſed, not only on account of my attachment to government, but the averſion I had always entertained to the embarking in their cauſe.

The Congreſs, among other arbitrary proceedings, had enacted, "That all males, from fifteen to ſixty years old, ſhould take an oath of allegiance to the united ſtates of America; and thoſe who refuſed it, were to be treated as rebels, and enemies to their country."—The patriots had alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of WHIGGS, while they denominated the friends of government, TORRIES.

Every perſon who went upon a journey, was obliged to have a paſs from the magiſtrate where they lived, ſpecifying where they were going; otherwiſe they were liable to be taken up on ſuſpicion, by any perſon whatever: and it was alſo neceſſary to have a certificate, that they had taken the oath of allegiance.

As I had been much in favour with the inhabitants of the new ſettlements, I had always found means to evade ſwearing allegiance; which, by the bye, was a very great indulgence, as many, for their adherence to government, had been treated in the moſt cruel and arbitrary manner.

Immediately upon my rejecting the commiſſion in their army, I was preſented with the TEST, which I alſo refuſed; for which I was taken into cuſtody by a captain and a party, and carried to Pittſburgh, in order to undergo a further examination.

But during my confinement, I was honoured with a viſit from the commandant of the ſaid regiment, then ſtationed in Fort Pitt, who, after condoling my unhappy diſaſter, told me, "That if I would conceal my ſentiments concerning politics, and agree to aſſume a neceſſary policy, he would not only put me in a way to effect my liberty in ſome time, but evite ſwearing allegiance to Congreſs," which was now going to be forced upon me; or fall a victim to the unlimited rage and arbitrary power of thoſe diſpotic and enthuſiaſtic patriots.

An offer of this kind from ſuch an humane and amiable young officer, commanded from me the

warmeſt expreſſions of thanks and gratitude, as well as the obſervance of his directions. He accordingly took me to his quarters, on pretence of aſſiſting him with the affairs of the regiment, when it was never doubted but I had taken the oaths, while I lived with my very agreeable protector, in a comfortable manner. And, in the mean time, in order to amuſe me, and remove ſuſpicion, I ſet about learning the military art, which I ſtudied with ſuch application and ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time I was maſter not only of the manual, but the ſeveral firings, evolutions, and manuœvers.

During my reſidence in this ambiguous ſituation, the kings, chiefs, and warriors, of ſeveral of the Indian nations, had aſſembled at Pittſburgh, on pretence of holding a treaty of peace and alliance with the commiſſioners, appointed by the people of Pennſylvania and Virginia.—And my friend, being one of the commiſſioners, I was admitted into the council-houſe, where the Indians being aſſembled in curious and ſignificant dreſſes.—One of their principal orators aroſe, and, in the moſt flowery action, oratorial emphaſis, and fluency of expreſſion, harrangued us with a ſpeech, in the interpretation of which, I expected to hear a comprehenſive and expreſſive ſtile, with fine turned periods.—But, to my great diſappointment, the interpreter informed us, that he had been telling us, in very plain and ſimple language,—" That the warriors of the great King of England, had met them at Detroit, and offered to aſſiſt them in redeeming their country, and recovering their lands.

—But as they never took up the hatchet without an offence, they chose rather to settle a lasting peace, and bury the Tomahauk, never to be taken up again."—The commissioners then thanked them for their peaceable intentions; and told them, That "the King of England was intending to make slaves of all people; and had sent over his warriors to that country to rob them of their lands, burn their towns, and ravish their women; and that they need not believe what fair words they should tell them, as it was customery for the people of that country always to act contrary to what they spoke."

After several orations on both sides, matters were amicably settled, and the *Tomahauk* buried with great ceremony; while they delivered the commissioners a belt of Waumpum; and received, in return, large quantities of coarse blankets, gunpowder and lead.

The treaty being finished, the Indians entertained us with a dance in their own form: after which we joined with them in several diversions; such as foot-ball, running, and wrestling; and was not a little surprised, on finding them considerably weaker than they appear to be: while it is to be observed, that they can neither curse nor swear in their own language, nor express any indecent expletives.

At last they departed for their own country; but, on crossing the Alliginay-River, were fired upon by a parcel of lawless, hot-headed Virginians, who had lost relations in the Indian wars; which provoked them to such a degree, that they went

away threatening vengeance by a general attack.—And, in a few days after, we were informed that they had carried off priſoner, a trader who lived up the Alliginay-River, and killed a young man in the woods, with whom they had left a warrior's trophical rod, on which was engraved all the great actions he had ever performed, a war mellet, and a long letter, warning all the people, ſettled upon the branches of the Saſquehannah and Ohio-Rivers, to move off immediately, or expect to be all maſſacred.

The firſt thing to be done, was to bring down the trader's goods, which the Indians accidentally had left; but this appeared to be an expedition ſo pregnant with danger and difficulty, that no perſon was willing to undertake it, as they were liable to be ſhot from any ſide of the river, in penetrating up through the Indian country.

In this critical conjuncture, my friend was informed, by the ſeveral commanders in Fort-Pitt, that no perſon was more proper to be ſent upon the enterprize, than the young Scots-man, who had lately been convicted of Toryiſm.

Knowing, that it would be in vain to refuſe, I ſignified, that I was willing to go; and deſired that they ſhould appoint proper aſſiſtants to attend me.—Three but indifferent hands were accordingly ſelected for the purpoſe; with whom, I embarked at Pittſburgh, in a large canoe, which, with difficulty we wrought up againſt the ſtream, and at nights crept into a thicket, without kindling any fire for fear of the Indians.

In four days we had gone almoſt 100 miles, and were in ſight of the intended place, where we were alarmed by the ſight of a number of people whom we took to be Indians parading upon the banks of the river.

But, in order to learn their intentions, I ſtepped upon the head of the canoe; and, according to cuſtom, ſaluted them with a diſcharge of my riffle, while the reſt followed my example, one after another.

This was returned by a general ſalute; by which we underſtood that they were peaceably diſpoſed, and might advance without any danger.—And, on our arrival, we found, to our great joy, that they were a party of Pennſylvania militia, who had dreſſed themſelves as Indians, and taken poſſeſſion of the place, in order to ſecure the goods.

Having ſtaid all night, we embarked the goods early in the morning; and the river being then very full, we flew down the rapid current with ſuch amazing celerity, that in nine hours we arrived at Pittſburgh all well, to the great joy of my friend, and other well-wiſhers.

Intelligence arriving at Fort-Pitt, that the Indians were coming to attack the frontiers of Pennſylvania and Virginia, a council of war was held; in which it was determined, that my friend ſhould go and take poſt, with his regiment, at the very place where I lately had been for the goods; where, on our arrival, we laid off the plan of a picket-fort, which, in a ſhort time, was finiſhed, with houſes for the troops. Upon which I was appointed commiſſary in the new garriſon, as well as adjutant to

the regiment, and lived as comfortably as could be expected, paſſing the time with my friend in various amuſements.

After having ſtaid near three months in this ſolitary garriſon, in the midſt of peace and plenty, the regiment was ordered by Congreſs, contrary to every agreement and juſtice, to march for part of the Continental Army, then encamped near Philadelphia.

This, however, was a grievous and unexpected diſpoſition of matters to me, who had only conſidered myſelf as embarked in the neceſſary defence of the frontier ſettlements; and imagined, that while I ſtaid in that regiment, I ſhould have no occaſion to intermeddle in the war with Great-Britain.

On conſulting with my friend, he told me, that it would be to no purpoſe to think of returning to my former habitation, unleſs I was diſpoſed to be qualified to Congreſs; but if I would accompany him down to Philadelphia, where he underſtood I was well acquainted, I might there retire unnoticed from the regiment, as I had never made any agreement to ſerve in the army.

I thanked him for his extraordinary unmerited kindneſs; and every thing being ready, the whole regiment ſet out for head quarters, about the beginning of June 1777.; and, after a march of more than 400 miles, containing various occurrences, we arrived about the firſt of July at Philadelphia, when I quietly retired: And ſhall, in the mean time, take a view of the operations of both armies ſince they went into winter quarters.

During the courſe of the winter, ſeveral regiments of loyal Provincials had been raiſed in and about New-York, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon, who had been appointed to the rank of Major-General for that purpoſe.

Towards the end of March, Colonel Bird was ſent out, with a detachment of 500 men, to deſtroy the ſtores at a place called Peek's-hill; but were anticipated by the Americans ſetting fire to, and abandoning the place.

A detachment of 2,000 men, commanded by Governor Tryon, Sir William Erſkine, and General Agnew, was next ſet out to Danbury, in Connecticut, where they burnt and deſtroyed a vaſt quantity of ſtores and proviſions: but, on their return, were met by a large body of militia and volunteers, commanded by the Generals Wooſter, Arnold, and Sullivan, who attempted to cut off their retreat; but General Wooſter being killed, with a great many of his officers and men, the militia were repulſed on all ſides, while the Britiſh effectuated their retreat, with great difficulty, and conſiderable loſs on both ſides.

The ſpring being now come, General Howe advanced towards the lines of the American army, in hopes of being able to draw them out of their ſtrong holds: but they, being aware of his intention, thought proper to remain ſecure, till he, in appearance, began to retreat, by paſſing the baggage over to Staten Iſland, and withdrawing the army.

General Waſhington, at this time, did not ſeem to poſſeſs all his ordinary caution; for he ſallied out, after the Britiſh army, as far as Quibbleton;

where his troops were attacked by Earl Cornwallis, and ſo roughly handled, that he found it neceſſary to eſcape back to his ſtrong holds the beſt way he could.

In the mean time, General Howe began to embark a large body of troops, conſiſting of 36 Britiſh and Heſſian regiments, the Queen's rangers, and a regiment of light horſe, with field-pieces, waggons, and proviſions, neceſſary for a long and important campaign; while, in order to impoſe upon the Americans, he ſeemed as if he was going up the North-river, where, by the bye, politicians have ſince alledged that he ought to have gone: but finding his ſcheme attended with little ſucceſs, he ſet ſail from Sandy-hook, with a large fleet of tranſports, about the middle of July, which greatly alarmed and embarraſſed the Americans; as they never had been able to learn, whether his deſtination was to the northern or ſouthern Colonies.

Much about this time, the American colonel Barton, had gone over with a party to Rhode-Iſland, and, with ſurprizing activity and addreſs, had brought off General Preſcott, who there commanded in chief, with his aid-de-camp, priſoners: but the great joy, on account of this acquiſition, was ſoon extinguiſhed by the rapid progreſs of General Burgoyne, and the loſs of the garriſon of Ticonderago, and ſome other material poſts.

The American army, at this time, ſeemed as if they intended to dance to the muſic of General Howe's expedition; for they marched from Philadelphia to Billings-port, and from thence to Trenton, all in the ſpace of two days; till at laſt the Britiſh

fleet made its appearance off the Capes of the Delaware, which ſpread a general panic all over that part of the country.

The preſervation of Philadelphia, therefore, became the firſt object in view; and, for that purpoſe, a large body of troops were called down to Cheſter, and every other preparation made for a bold and animated reſiſtance.

The river Delaware, at this time, was ſtrongly barricaded by a formidable bomb-proof fort upon Mude-iſland, two rows of cheavaux de frizes, or large frames of wood ſunk in the river, having ſtrong beams, partly erected and headed with iron; beſides a great chain acroſs, with a number of gallies and other armed veſſels.

All the way up the river, were alarm guns placed at ſuch diſtances, as the appearance of an enemy at the Capes, could be reported in Philadelphia, as ſoon as the ſound could penetrate through the air.

The Britiſh fleet at laſt diſappeared from the Capes of the Delaware; which ſo embarraſſed and confuſed the Americans, that they ſcarcely knew whether to turn to the right or to the left.

They generally were of opinion, that appearing off the Delaware was only amuſing them with falſe manuœvres, while their real deſtination was to ſome of the northern Colonies, in order to co-operate with General Burgoyne.—In conſequence of which conjecture, the troops aſſembled at Cheſter, were marched up to Trenton, in order to hold themſelves in readineſs for moving to the North.

But their uncertainty was in a few weeks effectually removed, by the alarming intelligence of the

Britiſh fleet having gone up the Cheſapeak-Bay, and landed a powerful and numerous army near the head of the Elk-river.—Upon which, General Waſhington immediately reinforced all his army, then conſiſting of about 8,000 regular troops, ſeveral corps of artillery, and about 600 light cavalry, tolerably well equipt; which, being all aſſembled at Head Quarters, were there harangued with fluent and animated orations, giving them to know, "that Dr. Franklin, and their other Plenipotentiaries at the courts of Europe, had received indiſputable aſſurances of foreign aid; and that one more ſpirited exertion, would not only fix their Independence, as fate itſelf, but eſtabliſh the riſing glory of America, in ſuch a manner, as ſhe would ſoon be able to give laws to the world."

Animated with theſe favourable proſpects, and pleaſing expectations, the whole American army marched in great military ſtate, through the city of Philadelphia, on the 23d day of Auguſt 1777, and took poſt a little above Wilmington, near the mouth of the river Brandy-wine, where they were ſoon reinforced by near 8,000 militia, and other troops, who turned out with great ſpirit and alacrity, in order to repel their Engliſh invaders.

Politicians at this time were greatly embarraſſed, in aſcertaining the propriety of the Britiſh army's being huddled on board of ſhips: and, after toſſing at ſea ſeven weeks, of the flower of the ſeaſon, to go round to the Cheſapeak, when they might almoſt as eaſily have landed in the Delaware. And that the troops might have marched immediately from New-York to Philadelphia, as well as from

Elk, the difference of the diſtance being but very trifling, and almoſt as eaſy to croſs the Dalaware, as the Brandy-wine.

Having retired from the army, a little after our arrival from the back ſettlements, I now found myſelf involved in a moſt diſagreeable dilemma; for, it was impoſſible for me to remain any longer in Philadelphia, at this diſtracting period, without being dragged out in the militia, or otherwiſe called to an account.

However, as I had procured a plantation in New-Virginia, which I was ſorry to leave, I would willingly have returned thither, had it been practicable, without being expoſed to the fury of my former perſecutors.

But having all my connections in Britain, from whom I had heard nothing for ſome years; neither had they heard from me in that time, I determined, at all events, to endeavour to retire within the Britiſh lines, rather than be forced into a ſcheme, apparently pregnant with tyranny and confuſion, and which my ſentiments abhorred. Having therefore beſtowed every thing valuable and portable about my perſon, I ſet out, intending to proceed as privately as poſſible, being liable to be taken up by every perſon I met, for want of a paſs, which could not be procured, without having previouſly taken the Teſt.

When I had gone down as far as a place called, Miln-Creek Hundred, I unexpectedly and unluckily fell in with a brigade of Virginia troops; and finding it in vain to attempt to draw back, I confidently went into their encampment, and aſked for a

perſon, who I knew was in one of theſe regiments.

But here I found myſelf moſt inextricably entangled, there being no poſſibility of getting without their lines, without being more ſtrictly examined.—And as a deſperate attempt now became abſolutely neceſſary, I wrote an unlimited paſs, permitting me to go to a certain man's houſe, without ſpecifying any place, with which I could have gone all over the country: and waiting upon the general of the detachment, who as yet knew nothing of my ſituation, I found means to inſinuate myſelf ſo far into his favour, that he ſigned my paſs, without obſerving its defect.

Thus armed, I paſſed their guards, piquets, and patroles; and, with a trembling heart, ſteered my courſe towards the Britiſh army, then lying at the head of Elk: and, by next morning, I got into the town of New-Ark, which was entirely depopulated, the inhabitants of it, and the country below, having all fled their plantations on the approach of the Britiſh army.

When I had got a little paſt the town of New-Ark, I was met by a party of militia, who ſtopped me, and demanded whither I was going by myſelf, as the Engliſh were then lying in the woods, only about two miles below.

I produced my paſs, and told them that I was going upon ſecret buſineſs of great importance, in which if they offered to obſtruct me, they might, in all probability, involve themſelves in more difficulties than they were aware of.

They then let me pafs on; and as ſoon as they were fairly out of ſight, I turned aſide into the pathleſs woods, expecting to find the Britiſh army at the place where I was told they were encamped: ——But, to my great diſappointment, I found that I had been miſinformed; and, after travelling more than four miles, through that ſolitary deſart, I came up with a path, where I obſerved ſome freſh tracks, which I followed, in full hopes that it was a party of Britiſh ſoldiers returning to their camp.

In this, however, I was ſoon undeceived, by obſerving a wooden canteen which they had droped, ſtamped with UNITED STATES, which effectually informed me, that it was an American ſcout; to avoid which, I crept into a barn, which was hard by, and hid myſelf among the hay; where I had not been three minutes, when I recollected, that I had better be found upon the high-way, than in this ſuſpicious poſture: and therefore proceeded on the path, till it took acroſs a broad road, where I did not think proper to follow the party any farther, but took down the high way; and had not gone above four miles, when I came in ſight of the town of ELK, which ſeemed all in a flame, the Britiſh army having left it that forenoon, after ſetting the ſtore-houſes and ſhips on fire.

When I had got within a little of the town, I was, to my great aſtoniſhment, met by ſix American dragoons, and an officer, who rode up, and exclaimed with great fury, that I was going to the Engliſh.

I attempted to convince them of the contrary; and told them, that I had only loſt my way, in an unknown and deſolate country; but all in vain. —They told me, that notwithſtanding of my paſs, and other ſpecious pretences, my being found ſo near the Britiſh lines, would clearly juſtify them in carrying me back: and accordingly they ordered me to follow them to head-quarters, where I would certainly have loſt my life.

But as we paſſed through a thick wood, I gave them the ſlip, and eſcaped to an opening on the other ſide the hill, where I was again met by a party of American foot, who luckily gave me but little interruption: ſo that I got into the town of Elk, a little after ſun ſet, where I found no inhabitants, but one woman, who could give me nothing to eat.—I therefore determined to proſecute my journey that night, notwithſtanding a moſt terrible thunder-guſt, which came up, and ſeemed to threaten that part of the country with immediate deſtruction.—And, it being now dark, I found my way along the tracks of the waggons, by the help of one flaſh of lightning after another; but had not gone two miles, when the rain fell in ſuch ſtreams, that I was obliged to take ſhelter in a hut, that had been built by ſoldiers, of tree-tops; which, indeed, preſerved me from the force, but not the effects of the rain.

Being now worn out with toil, hunger, and perſpiration, having travelled all day in a burning hot climate, without being able to procure the ſmalleſt ſubſiſtance, and my mind tore upon the rack of anxiety, I lay down, and eagerly wiſhed

for even a cruſt of the coarſeſt bread, fearing I could not hold out till to-morrow.

But as I was feeling for ſomething to put below my head, I happened to lay my hand on a piece of a loaf, which, by ſome unaccountable accident, had been left by my predeceſſors there: and, having eat it with the greateſt thankfulneſs and wonder, and being ſomewhat refreſhed, I lay down, intending, as ſoon as the rain was over, to proſecute my journey: but falling aſleep, I lay till to-morrow's ſun was up, which obſerving, and being already dreſſed, I aroſe in a twinkling, and proceeded on my journey, not without great apprehenſions of coming up with the party of Americans, I had ſeen the night before.

I had not gone above a mile, when, to my inexpreſſible joy, I came up to the 71ſt regiment of Britiſh troops, on the 7th day of September; and was immediately conducted to the Colonel's quarters, who received me with the greateſt civility; and, after breakfaſting with him, and ſome more of his officers, I was accompanied to head quarters, then at a place called Aitken's-Tavern, where I found General Howe, with a number of his principal officers, ſeated at breakfaſt.—Upon my name being there mentioned, one of the gentlemen jumped up from the table, and aſked, if I was ſuch a man's ſon. I anſwered in the affirmative; and that inſtant recollected him to be the gallant colonel Abercromby, who then commanded one of the diviſions of light infantry.

After reciprocal expreſſions of joy, I was invited to his quarters, where I ſpent the forenoon in a

moſt agreeable manner; and, by his intereſt, was that day appointed to an office in the army, which brought me five ſhillings ſterling a-day, a horſe to ride, with proviſions for myſelf and him.

I now began to deem myſelf a gentleman of ſome conſequence; and found all my experimental philoſophy abſolutely neceſſary, in preventing me from being infected with the arrogance, and fopiſh ſelf-conceit, peculiar to young ſparks on their firſt admiſſion into the Britiſh army: and, being inſtructed in the articles of my duty, I began to look back, with a pleaſing reflection on the impending deſtruction I had ſo narrowly eſcaped on the preceding day.

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CHAP. VIII.

We march on our route to Philadelphia.—A deſcription of the battle of Brandy-Wine, with the ſituation of the army after the engagement.—General Gray ſurprizes and defeats a brigade of Americans.—We croſs the Schuylkill-River, and take poſſeſſion of Philadelphia.—The Britiſh fleet comes round to New-Caſtle.—The Dalaware frigate taken.—A detachment ſent over to Billing's-Port.—A deſcription of the battle of Germane-Town.—I am ſent upon duty with a general officer, who attempts to ſtab me; but is prevented by a lucky reſiſtance, for which I am committed to the Provoſt-Marſhal's guard.—The ſituation of the priſoners deſcribed.—I am brought before a general-court Martial, and after a curious trial, am honourably acquitted.—The attacks upon Forts-Mifflin and Red-Bank, in which the Auguſta war-ſhip is burned, and the Heſſians repulſed.—Batteries erected upon Providence-Iſland.—Forts-Mifflin and Red-Bank are reduced.—The Britiſh army view the Americans at White-Pine Marſh, and then return to Philadelphia for the winter.

NEXT day the whole Britiſh army marched on their route to Philadelphia; and, being informed, that the Americans had ſtrongly fortified the paſſes near Wilmington, we proceeded

by the way of New-Ark, intending to croſs the river Brandy-wine, as high as Chaud's-ford; and, in two days, got to a place, called the Square-Tavern, within a few miles of the River, where the Americans, with ſurprizing expedition, had come, and ſtrongly fortified the Fords, at which we intended to croſs; and, as we underſtood, were determined to riſque a general battle on the enſuing day.

General Howe having made every diſpoſition for the purpoſe, on the morning of the 11th of September 1777, that ever memorable day, the whole Britiſh army, conſiſting of about 15,000 veteran troops, marched out in battle order, by two grand diviſions, the one led on by General Knyphaſen, and the other by Earl Cornwallis.

While we advanced in this manner, a party of the American light infantry, who lay concealed in a thicket before us, fired a full volly in our faces; upon which they ſprung up, and fled back to their main body.

Blood being now ſhed, and ſeveral acquaintances having fallen, the army moved on in the moſt determinate ſolemnity; while heroic courage ſeemed to glow in almoſt every countenance.

At length, about ten o'clock, we came in ſight of the Continental Army, which had come acroſs the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the plains of Brandywine, when a moſt tremendous cannonade commenced; during which, our army having advanced nearer, the columns formed up, and the battle began with great velocity on both ſides, which exhibited a ſcene terrible beyond all conception.

Our eyes were preſented with little elſe than fire and ſmoke; with numbers of brave men falling in the lines, and groaning out their laſt. And our ears were ſtunned with a moſt awful and tremendous noiſe of great guns, muſketry, and myriads of bullets, which whiſtled paſt our ears, with a ſhrill or hollow grumbling noiſe; while every heroic ſpirit was now ſcrewed up to the higheſt pitch, and ſeized with a fearleſs, but reflective ſort of delirium: and thoſe, whoſe hearts failed them, fell down as dead, being ſtruck motionleſs with terror and aſtoniſhment.

The balance of power ſeeming to hang in equilibrio, we gave them a general charge; upon which they turned their backs, and fled with great celerity acroſs the river Brandy-wine, where they took poſſeſſion of the bulwarks which they had erected, in order to diſpute our paſſage acroſs; in which they reſiſted with great intrepidity, a moſt furious attack of cannonading and bombarding, till ſunſet, when we found it neceſſary to ſtorm: and accordingly, we ruſhed acroſs the river, expoſed to their grape-ſhot, which ſent numbers floating down the ſtream; and mounting their breaſt-works, drove them out of their batteries, while we wheeled about their own artillery, and fired after them as they fled through the woods.

In the mean time, Earl Cornwallis had gone round by the forks of the river, with an intention to flank the Americans; but General Waſhington being informed of his movement, had ſent General Sullivan, with a large detachment, to oppoſe him, when a hot engagement commenced, in which the

Americans were repeatedly repulsed, and at last totally routed, much about the same time that General Knyphausen had carried Chaud's-ford.

The British army being, by this time, very much fatigued, were in no condition for pursuing that night; neither did the commander in chief, think proper to put them to that trouble next day, for they very peaceably encamped at a place called Concord, where they remained for some days.

The 71st regiment having taken possession of Wilmington, all the sick and wounded, with the American prisoners, were sent thither, under a strong guard: on which expedition I was sent; and, after having secured the prisoners, and bestowed the sick and wounded in houses, appointed for hospitals, we returned back to the main army, which marched towards the Lancaster road, intending to attack the Americans, but were prevented by a most incessant and heavy rain, which poured upon us the whole day and night, with unremitting fury.

General Howe, on his landing at Elk, expected that a great number of the inhabitants of the country adjacent, would have repaired to the Royal Standard; and, for their encouragement, had issued a long Proclamation, inviting all his Majesty's well-affected subjects, to remain at home upon their plantations, assuring them of the most steady protection, and the highest price for whatever they should furnish to the army; while, at the same time, he issued the strictest orders, that no person belonging to the army, should take the smallest article from any of the plantations, even although

they were abandoned by their owners, under the pain of immediate death.

But these favourable prospects, towards the Americans, were not attended with the expected success; for, few thought proper to put themselves under his protection: and the inhabitants had all fled their plantations, for about twenty miles, before the British army.

The horses on their landing were quite benumbed, and unfit for service, by being so long a shipboard in the heat of summer; and great numbers died on the march, which went on so slow, by having more than 7000 waggons in a line, drawn by horses which were frequently giving way, that although we were busied from day-light in the morning, till nine or ten o'clock at night, we could seldom make more than five or six miles a-day.

As I was altogether unprovided with necessaries for a campaign, I lived in the most uncomfortable manner: and had I not been of a pretty strong constitution, I could not have bore the irregularities and inconveniences to which I was exposed.—Our provisions consisted only of salt beef, or pork, with old hard biscuit, served out by the pound once every two days, or as it was convenient; being deprived of all the rest of the articles of our rations, for want of waggons to carry them along upon the rout.

The rain having prevented us from attacking the Americans, at the Lancaster road, we endeavoured, by several ineffectual manuœvers, to bring them to action; and then moved on to the Valley-Forge.

But understanding that General Wayne, with

an American brigade, was ſkulking in our rear, intending, if poſſible, to capture our baggage, General Gray was ſent out, with a choſen detachment; and having taken all the flints out of their firelocks, they quietly ruſhed upon the Americans, in the dead of the night, with fixed bayonets, and mortally ſtabbed great numbers as they lay in their huts.

The reſt, being now alarmed, ſprung up in the greateſt terror and confuſion; and while they reeled too and fro in the dark, many were run through the heart, and fell down again in a much longer ſleep.—At laſt General Wayne, and a great many more, found means to make their eſcape, after much ſlaughter and mercileſs carnage, in which about 300 were killed, and a number taken and wounded.

General Gray being returned, and having only loſt a captain and three privates, with about the ſame number wounded, we moved on; and, in two days, got to the Valley-Forge, upon the banks of the Schuylkill-river, where we found ſeveral thouſand barrels of fine flour, of which, by an extraordinary indulgence, the ſoldiers were permitted to take but a little, although the reſt was either burned, or otherwiſe deſtroyed.

The croſſing of the Schuylkill now became the next thing to be conſidered, and ſeemed to be attended with apparent difficulty, as the Americans had taken poſſeſſion of, and ſtrongly fortified the only ford, at which there was any probability of our croſſing.—But we luckily found out another, where we got over; and coming down upon the

Americans, ſurprized them in their camp on the other ſide, from whence the fled, and left their baggage, and kettles boiling on the fires, which was a ſeaſonable repaſt to our weary troops, after the fatigues of the day.

The Congreſs, immediately after the battle of Brandy-wine, found that Philadelphia would be little longer tenable; and therefore RESOLVED, that it ſhould be abandoned, and reduced to aſhes, rather than it ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy.—But this was ſo ſpiritedly oppoſed by the majority of the inhabitants, as rendered it altogether impracticable; upon which, the Congreſs ordered all their good friends to leave the city: and having ſent a number of people, who were well affected to the Britiſh government, priſoners to the back ſettlements of Virginia, they fled by the way of Lancaſter to York-Town, which became their chief place of reſidence for that winter.

The Britiſh army, having deſtroyed the heavy artillery, found in the American batteries, moved towards Germane-Town, where General Howe fixed his head quarters, while Earl Cornwallis, with part of the army marched into Philadelphia, on the 26th day of September, without oppoſition; where they were received with acclamations of joy, by thoſe who had long wiſhed for their arrival.

Admiral Howe, on landing the troops at Elk, had gone out with the fleet; and, on being informed that Philadelphia was in poſſeſſion of the troops, came up to Reedy-Iſland and New-Caſtle; but could come little further for the cheavaux-de-frizes and a chain, which were acroſs the river.

A few days after the Britiſh troops had been in poſſeſſion of Philadelphia,—the DELAWARE, a fine new frigate of 32 guns, came up with an intention to play upon the town; but the artillery which were fixed below the city, attacked her with ſuch fury and ſucceſs, that ſhe was in a ſhort time brought to and taken, having previouſly run aground.—Colonel Stirling was then ſent over the river Delaware, with a detachment of troops, to take poſſeſſion of Billings-Port, which was then kept by a few militia, who, on his approach, ſet fire to, and abandoned the fort; and after, with difficulty, he had collected a quantity of forage and cattle at Billings-Port, he was next day ordered over to Cheſter, to aſſiſt in eſcorting up a quantity of proviſions from the fleet.

It was ſaid, that the commander in chief, was adviſed, by ſome of his principal officers, to allow Colonel Stirling, when at Billings-Port, to take poſſeſſion of Red-Bank, oppoſite to Fort-Mifflin; and, at that time, only defended by about 30 militia.—But it appeared, that our brave Generaliſſimo was too wiſe to admit of council; and therefore declined it, while the Americans, obſerving it to be a very material poſt, fortified it in ſuch a manner, that it was the great cauſe of keeping our fleet below, for more than ſix weeks after; which had almoſt obliged us to leave Philadelphia for want of proviſions.

The diviſion that I belonged to, had been ſtationed at Germane-Town, under the direction of the Commander in Chief, where we remained, without moleſtation, till the morning of the 4th of

October, when we were aroused from our sleep, by the hideous and terrifying noise of the rage of war: and having sprung up, in the greatest astonishment, we beheld such a scene as almost made us imagine at first, that all nature was going into ruin.

Generals, aid-de-camps, and other officers, were raging about with fury, and disorder in their faces, mustering up their respective departments with dreadful oaths, and terrifying imprecations, while multitudes of drums were bellowing TO ARMS, with redoubled force; and the battle roared in our ears, not far distant, and seemed to approach us with rapid progress.

We soon, however, were convinced that it was no very trifling affair, that so much alarmed us; for General Washington, with about 12,000 men, had, about day break, attacked and drove in our out-posts and infantry; and was then making terrible havock in our camp.

Our division, consisting of about 2,500 men, being turned out, were found to be inadequate to the purpose; for they proceeded to advance into the town of Germane-town, and, as they said, intended to dine in Philadelphia that day.

But in this they were disappointed: for, the gallant Colonel Musgrave, with the 40th regiment, taking possession of a stone church, upon which their principal column advanced, so effectually retarded their progress, that we had time to be reinforced from Philadelphia, being only four miles distant, when the line of battle was formed: and, after a most terrible and furious engagement, a-

bout ten o'clock they were forced to leave us maſters of the field, and fled with their waggons and artilery faſter, than we, with nothing but our arms, could purſue.

In this hard-fought battle, the loſs of the Britiſh, beſides General Agnew and Colonel Bird, amounted to ſomething more than that at Brandy-Wine, being about 530, including killed, wounded, and taken.—The loſs of the Americans, beſides General Naſh, was allowed to be near 300 killed, 600 wounded, and about 400 taken priſoners.—Among the captives, was a moſt amiable youth, of uncommon accompliſhments, of whom I had clear intelligence of the ſtate of the American army; and whoſe untimely fate, I ſhall ever remember with extreme regret: for, having unfortunately gone from the Britiſh army, on their firſt landing at Boſton, before the commencement of hoſtilities, he had been advanced to a lieutenancy in the American army; but being unhappily taken, he was next day taken out, while he ſhed a torrent of tears, and hanged as a deſerter, although he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted to the laſt, that he had given himſelf up.

The army having purſued the Americans, for ſome miles, to little purpoſe, they returned to their quarters, where I obſerved daily proofs of the improper exerciſe of arbitrary power, inveſted in the officers of the army: and at laſt it extended to me in ſuch a manner, as not only drove me from that ſtage of honour; but almoſt deprived me of my life.

For, one day being ſent upon a foraging party,

under the command of one General P—ne, a moſt cruel, imperious, and overbearing tyrant, who had been lately elevated to a ſtation above his capacity, and had ſecretly determined my deſtruction, having rather too ſucceſsfully rectified ſome of his miſtakes.—But, as we enjoyed a halt on our way home, beſide a very fine houſe, I went in about the time I expected we ſhould march, to ſee if any of the men under my command were lurking there.

Having ſent them all out of the firſt flat, I went up ſtairs to the ſecond, where I had not been three minutes, when I obſerved the before-mentioned *bravo*, advancing up-ſtairs, with eyes like flaming torches, and a voice like that of a trumpet, bauling, *ANY MORE THIEVES HERE; ANY MORE THIEVES HERE.*—Upon which, I modeſtly anſwered, that I believed they were all gone; and had ſcarcely done ſpeaking, when, in a moſt furious manner, he ſeized me by the throat.

Not reliſhing ſuch treatment, I diſengaged myſelf in a trice; and told him, that I could walk down ſtairs without his aſſiſtance.—He, not being accuſtomed to ſuch freedoms from his inferiors, here intended effectually to prevent my further inſolence; and, twirling a KNIFE from his ſide, to my great conſternation and ſurpriſe, aimed a moſt deadly ſtab at my breaſt.

The point had juſt reached my veſt, when I had hold of his aſſaſſinating wriſt, with both my hands, and happily prevented my immediate death.—And being now exaſperated to the laſt degree, as I held

him in this manner, I puſhed him down ſtairs before me, while he roared, curſed, and blaſphemed, like a frantic bedlamite, till ſuch time as I had him clear out of the houſe, where the preſence of the party, prevented his further attempts.

But here my troubles were only beginning; for, I had been ſeen dragging a general officer out of the houſe, and not having received the King's commiſſion, was immediately ſent priſoner to the Provoſt-Marſhal's guard, and there committed for the capital and deadly crimes of *mutiny and violence to an officer on duty*, where I was depoſited among a parcel of miſerable criminals, who ſeemed to anticipate their deaths by their dejection.

I alſo ſoon caught the infection; and being totally confounded by my unhappy and ſudden tranſition, I ſpent the firſt night in the keeneſt vexation and anguiſh; and had almoſt fallen into a ſtate of delirium, when I came to recollect, that my life entirely depended upon the critical tenure of my unprincipled accuſer's oath; who, I well knew, was fully capable of ſwearing to the groſſeſt falſhoods his rancour and malice could ſuggeſt.

While I remained in this diſmal habitation, I was daily convinced of the alarming nature of my ſituation, by the numbers of poor creatures, I frequently ſaw taken from beſide me, and executed for crimes much more trivial than mine was ſuppoſed to be.—And one day, obſerving a ſoldier belonging to the 10th regiment, lying in irons beſide me, I aſked him, Wherefore; and how long he had been in that ſituation. Upon which he readily began the following relation.

" That the day before the battle of Brandywine, as he was paſſing a houſe, deſerted by its inhabitants, he happened to take up a piece of an old ſhirt to mend his trouſars, which an aid-de-camp obſerving in his hand, ordered the colonel of his regiment to have him confined. But he, being a man of experience and candour, thought it an offence of ſuch a frivolous nature, that he took no further notice of it, till the ſame aid-de-camp returning ſome time after, and finding him in his ranks, ordered him to be taken before the Commander in Chief, who procured his condemnation, and ordered him to be hanged immediately, in conſequence of a promiſe he had made, " That the firſt who ſhould be found taking the ſmalleſt article, belonging to the inhabitants, ſhould be forthwith executed in a ſummary manner."

Being then delivered over to the Provoſt-Marſhal, or *Executioner-General*, he was met on his way to the place of execution, by the very humane and magnanimous Colonel Maitland, whoſe ſympathy induced him to enquire into the particulars of his crime; while obſerving him to be a North Britain, aſked the place of his nativity: and no ſooner underſtood, that he was a ſon of one of his brother, the Earl of Lauderdale's tennants, than he begged of the Provoſt-Marſhal to poſtpone his execution, till he ſhould return from ſupplicating the Commander in Chief in his behalf.—But it appeared, that notwithſtanding that gentleman's intereſt with the Commander in Chief, he was ſo very obſervant of his promiſe, that he would only

grant a reprive for a few days, which, by the interpoſition of the battle of Brandy-wine, and other public occurences, had been now prolonged to more than three weeks, from which he imagined, that he was totally pardoned."

This poor creature had ſcarcely finiſhed the tragical narration, and made ſome moral reflections on the ſervitude and uncertainty of a military life, when the Adjutant-General came in, and with great ſolemnity, pronounced, "That he was doomed to die, by to-morrow at ten o'clock, and might prepare accordingly."

In all my former viciſſitudes of life, I never had beheld a more affecting or pitiable object.—The ſentence had pierced his heart as an envenomed arrow, and threw him into the ſevereſt internal agony. Neither could I help trembling through my whole frame, when I obſerved the trifling eſtimation of life, by thoſe inured to bloodſhed and ſlaughter.

After ſome little time, he relapſed into a flood of tears, and exclaimed, "that he had been in moſt of the principal engagements ſince the commencement of the war; and curſed the bullets of the enemy that had not found their way to his heart, and prevented him from falling an inconſiderate prey to the general deciſion of arbitrary mandates; while he fervently prayed, that he had been executed in conſequence of his firſt ſentence, as he had careleſly miſpent the precious prolongation of his life, in full confidence that he was thoroughly forgiven."

At laſt, as a perſon ſinking in a ſtream, graſps

at even the ſhadow of relief, he fixed his eyes upon me, in a manner not to be expreſſed; and earneſtly begged that I would write a few lines in his behalf, to one of the aid-de-camps, attending the commander in chief.

I told him, that if he intended to ſupplicate at all, it would be by far the moſt eligible method to begin at the fountain head; as theſe ſubordinate officers always ſet a higher value upon their trouble of interceſſion, than the commander in chief would upon the act of indemnity itſelf.

He concurred with me in opinion. Upon which I procured paper, pen, and ink, and petitioned his Excellency, in the name of this unhappy criminal. —After which I endeavoured to reconcile him to the ſeverity of his fate, by various obſervations; at the ſame time imagining that a few days would put me in the very ſame ſituation.

Next morning, however, to his inexpreſſible joy, inſtead of being executed, he was reprived, and remanded to his duty: but by what happy means I never yet could learn, although I imagined it to have been effectuated by the importunity of the tender-hearted Colonel Maitland.

Since my incarceration, I had ſeverally applied for the benefit of a trial; and at laſt, after waiting two long weeks, to me the great and important day arrived, pregnant with my happy releaſe or final diſſolution: on which I was carried under a proper guard, before the auguſt tribunal of a general court-martial, compoſed of fourteen apparently formidable heroes, who, on my approach, ſeemed as if they would frown me into annihilation.

The judge-advocate, having read my indictment, put to me the ordinary queſtion; to which, with propriety, I pled, *Not guilty.*

General P—ne being then ſworn, gave in my proſecution by a ſpeech, compoſed of the eſſence of falſhood, malice, and revenge; in which he began to deviate from the ſubject in hand, and expatiate upon his great merit in preventing morooding, as he had frequently intercepted people, belonging to the artillery, catching of ſheep and hogs.

This obliged the judge-advocate, who was an officer in that tremendous department, to ſet him to rights, by telling him, that he was to accuſe none beſides the priſoner before them.

His loquacity being now confined to me alone, he heſitated at nothing, that his malignant imagination could invent; and gave in ſuch an accuſation as, in all human probability, muſt have put a period to my life.

I being now called, opened my defence by a candid and ingenuous detail of the matter, as it had happened; and, when I came to the tragic part of the recital, I obſerved, the aſpect of the preſident, and ſome more, my venerable judges, relent into pity, while their eyes flaſhed indignation and contempt, at my already ſelf-convicted accuſer.

Animated by theſe favourable proſpects, I continued my exculpation for about a quarter of an hour; and concluded with reſigning myſelf over to their candid conſideration and mercy, in the moſt pathetic and expreſſive terms my imagination could invent.—And was again remanded to the place from whence I came, where I ſpent the night

in a ſituation eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed; waiting with impatience and ſuſpence till the morning, for the promulgation of my ſentence.

At laſt, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, I was given out, in general orders, as honourably acquitted, and to return to my office.—But being now heartily ſick of this barbarous and tyrannical life, I went and demanded my pay, which was accordingly granted; and I returned to Philadelphia, where I found the inhabitants and army, almoſt in a ſtate of ſtarvation; the fleet, with the proviſions, being as yet detained below, by the ineffectual operations of the Britiſh army.

The reduction of the forts upon the Delaware, with the removing of the cheavaux-de-frizes, ſeemed to be a taſk, for ſome time, more than adequate to the united exertions of both land and naval forces.

Captain Hammond, of the Roebuck, had found means, ſometime before, to cut a paſſage through the lower row of cheavaux-de-frizes, whoſe defenſive batteries were not compleated; by which, veſſels had come up near the ſecond, which extended between Fort-Mifflin and Red-bank.

Batteries were therefore erected upon the Pennſylvania ſide of the Continent, in order to play upon Fort-Mifflin behind, while it was to be powerfully attacked by the fleet in front.—At the ſame time, Colonel Dunop was ſent acroſs the river, with a large detachment of Heſſians, to ſtorm the fort at Red-bank, which was alſo to be attacked by the fleet.

Every neceſſary preparation being made, on the 22d of October, this great and general attack commenced, and formed a moſt dreadful cannonade, which ſhook the city of Philadelphia from its loweſt baſis, for great part of the day.

A number of war-ſhips, mounting 42 pounders, lay in the river, and furiouſly attacked the forts, which were alſo canonaded and bombarded by the batteries behind.

Forts Mifflin and Red-bank, both mounting a great many very heavy artillery, with a number of gallies and gandalos, carrying 32 pounders, returned the fire with great intrepidity and ſucceſs; for, during the action, the Auguſta war-ſhip, and the Merlin ſloop of war, had run aground; and the Auguſta taking fire, they were both haſtily abandoned, in order to evite the effects of the exploſion: but, in ſpite of all expedition, ſeveral officers, with a vaſt number of men, periſhed.

In the mean time, Colonel Dunop had bravely attacked the fort on Red-bank, and carried an eſſential out-poſt, when he was mortally wounded, and his troops repulſed with a very great loſs.

This unſucceſsful attempt ſeemed to affect the inhabitants and army, with an uncommon degree of dejection and deſpair.—Winter was faſt approaching, and there was now as little proſpect of the fleet getting up as ever; from which it began to be generally apprehended, that the army would be under the fatal neceſſity of leaving the town, as they could not ſubſiſt for the winter, upon a precarious ſupply of proviſions, ſtole paſt the walls of Fort-Mifflin, in boats, with muffled oars, in the night.

The reduction of Fort-Mifflin, ſeemed to be attended with uncommon difficulty, being ſituated upon an iſland of mud, and altogether unaſſailable by land.

New ſchemes were, therefore, concerted to be put in execution, with new vigour; in conſequence of which, heavy artillery were brought up from the fleet, and ſtrong batteries erected upon Providence-Iſland, where they had a better command of Fort-Mifflin, than thoſe upon the continent.

The troops having been previouſly called in from Germane-town, and quartered as conveniently as poſſible, in and about the town, on the morning of the 15th of November, the Iſis and Sommerſet war-ſhips, with a number of frigates and other veſſels, drew up in front of Fort-Mifflin, while it was forcibly attacked by the batteries on land; all which it reſiſted with great fortitude and ſpirit, till the Vigilant, a flat bottomed war-ſhip, carrying 42 pounders, got round by an unſuſpected paſs, to an unguarded place of the garriſon, where ſhe raiked their plat-forms acroſs, and diſmounting their artillery towards the evening, entirely ſilenced the Fort, which was ſet on fire that night, and totally abandoned.

In two days after, Earl Cornwallis, with a detachment, croſſed over from Cheſter to Billings-Port, where he was joined by a party of troops from New-York, who proceeded along with him to Red-Bank, which was alſo abandoned on their approach, and the works entirely demoliſhed.

The American ſhipping having now loſt all pro-

tection, a number of them took the opportunity of a dark night, and escaped up to Trenton, while the rest were set on fire and burned.

The British forces, having thus far succeeded, all they could do for the season, was to remove the chain and open a narrow passage through the cheavaux de frizes, by which the wharfs of Philadelphia, which had lain so long desolate, were on the morning of the 24th of November, crouded with transports and merchant vessels, to the universal joy and relief of the inhabitants and army.

Forage being provided sufficient for the winter, a chain of strong batteries were erected all round the city; while General Washington, being greatly reinforced, had strongly fortified his camp at a place called White-Pine Marsh, within about 14 miles of Philadelphia; which, it appeared, General Howe imagined would be immediately abandoned on the smallest appearance of his presence; and accordingly marched out on the 4th day of December, with a formidable force, to Chestnut-hill, within a little of Washington's works, where he presented himself to their view for some days, in imitation of *Goliath of Gath*, before the camp of the Israelites: but finding their timidity inadequate to his expectations, he returned to Philadelphia; where I shall leave him for some time, spending the winter in licentious amusements, and turn my attention to the brave, but unfortunate Northern Army.

CHAP. IX.

The command of the Northern army given to General Burgoyne.—His ſpeech to the Indians, and manifeſto to the inhabitants.—He gets poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga, and purſues the Americans to Fort-Edward, which is alſo reduced.—Arnold arrives with a reinforcement, and takes the command.—The cruelty of the Indians.—General Burgoyne tranſports his proviſions and ſtores with great difficulty.—A detachment of his troops defeated at Binington.—Colonel St. Leger inveſts Fort-Stanwix, and his troops defeat a party of militia.—He is deſerted by the Indians, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege.—General Burgoyne croſſes the Hudſon's-river, and encamps at Saratoga.—A ſevere engagement between the two armies.—General Burgoyne is promiſed aſſiſtance from New-York.—He abridges the ſoldiers rations, and attacks the Americans; but is obliged to retreat.—He moves his encampment, and is abandoned by the Canadians.—He is almoſt ſurrounded, with only three days proviſions.—He calls a council of war, who agree to a Convention with General Gates.—The articles of capitulation.—General Clinton's expedition up the North River.—The Congreſs ſuſpend the embarkation of the priſoners.—General Burgoyne returns to Britain on parole.

THE command of the Northern expedition had been taken from Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, to whoſe military genius may be

aſcribed the former preſervation of that Province, and given to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, whoſe great abilities and enterprizing ſpirit, as well as thirſt for military glory, could not poſſibly be exceeded.

The miniſtry ſeemed to have been ſo very confident of the effectual operations of this campaign, that they had not only invariably preſcribed the general route, but determined every material detachment, which was to be made; and ſent over large quantities of arms and accoutrements to equip the great number of loyaliſts, who were expected to join the royal army on their penetration into the Province.

Although it was ſaid, that Governor Carleton ſenſibly felt the diſappointment, in this new arrangement; yet his magnanimity and ardour for the public welfare, induced him to forgoe every punctilio of private reſentment, and to uſe his utmoſt exertions and energy, in making every preparation for opening the campaign.

The forces employed in this expedition, conſiſted of near 4,000 Britiſh regular troops, about 3,200 Germans, a fine train of braſs artillery, near 2,000 Canadians, including watermen, and other workmen, with about 1,000 Indians.

The principal general officers, under General Burgoyne, were major-general Philips, of the artillery; brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all diſtinguiſhed officers; beſides the Brunſwick major-general baron Riedeſel, and brigadier-general Spicht.

The army being at length aſſembled at the river

Bouquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake-Champlain, and a little north of Crown-point. General Burgoyne there met the Indians in Congreſs, on the 21ſt of June 1777.; and, according to cuſtom, entertain-them with a war-feaſt, and a ſpeech expreſſed in thoſe powerful ſtrains of elocution, for which that gentleman is moſt eminently conſpicuous; being calculated to excite their ardour in the common cauſe, and to repreſs their natural barbarity.

For this purpoſe, he was at particular pains in explaining the difference between the preſent war, in which good ſubjects were mixt with rebels, and that carried on in a country, in which the whole inhabitants were hoſtile.

Upon this principle he laid down ſeveral rules for the regulation of their conduct: particularly, "That they ſhould only kill thoſe who were oppoſed to them in arms;—that old men, women, and children, as well as priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife and hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict;—that they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe whom they had ſlain in fair oppoſition;—but that, under no pretence whatever they ſhould ſcalp the wounded, or even dying.—And they were promiſed a compenſation for priſoners; but informed, that they ſhould be called to an account for ſcalps."

He ſoon after diſperſed a proclamation, or manifeſto, through the country, calculated to intimidate thoſe who were contumacious, with the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions of the number and ferocity of the Indians, as well as their ardency to be let looſe upon their prey.

The great force of the powers employed by ſea and land, in order to cruſh the rebellion on all ſides, was diſplayed in the moſt lofty and expreſſive ſtrains.—The fomenters of rebellion, and pretended legiſlators in America, were exhibited in the higheſt colouring of cruelty, injuſtice, tyranny, and perſecution.—Protection and employment were offered to thoſe who ſhould return to their proper allegiance, and exert their abilities in redeeming their country from ſlavery and oppreſſion; and all the calamities and horrors of war denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould perſevere in hoſtility.

The army having ſtaid ſometime beſide Crown-Point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, hoſpitals, and other neceſſaries, proceeded in concert with the naval armament towards the firſt object of their deſtination, being the inveſtigation of Ticonderoga, ſituated only a few miles North of the narrow paſs, which joins Lakes Champlain and Saint George, being ſurrounded on three ſides by water, and on the fourth by an almoſt impaſſible marſh.—Oppoſite to Ticonderoga, on the other ſide of the paſs, ſtands Mount-Independence; which was alſo ſtrongly defended by a Star-Fort, and ſeveral other works.

The Americans, with their uſual induſtry, had joined theſe two material poſts by a bridge acroſs the inlet, ſupported on 22 ſunken piers of large timber, placed almoſt equidiſtant from one another. ——The ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, about fifty feet long and twelve broad, each being faſtened to the piers, and to one another by ſtrong chains and rivets of iron.—This

ponderous bridge was ſtrongly defended by large booms, and ſerved not only as a communication between the two points of land, but to prevent all naval intercourſe between the two Lakes.

Several of theſe poſts were haſtily abandoned on the 2d of July, on account of the rapid approach of the Britiſh forces, which had by that time inveſted great part of their works, and were expeditiouſly erecting a ſtrong battery on the top of Sugar-hill, which entirely commanded Ticonderoga.

General St. Clair, who commanded the American troops in that place, finding all hopes of defending Ticonderoga at an end, called a council of war on the 5th, in which it was unanimouſly determined to evacuate the place, and was accordingly put in execution that very night, leaving behind them about 128 pieces of ordnance, with ſome military ſtores, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions.

Next morning the Britiſh army, having cut the bridge of communication, General Burgoyne in perſon, purſued them by water towards the falls of Skenſburgh, while they were eagerly purſued by land by Brigadier-General Frazer, and a large body of troops, upon whoſe arrival at Skenſburgh, the Americans ſet fire to their ſtockaded Forts, Milns, and Batteaux, and fled through the woods in the greateſt precipitation and diſorder.

In the mean time, they continued to be warmly purſued by General Frazer, who, coming up with them on the 7th, a hot engagement commenced,

in which they were routed, with the loſs of Colonel Francis, who commanded the rear of their army, and ſeveral other officers, with about 200 privates.—General St. Clair, with the van of the army, afraid of being intercepted at Fort-Anne, made the beſt of his way towards Fort-Edward, whither the reſt of his army found means to eſcape, by the way of Wood-Creek, after being attacked, and roughly handled, by Colonel Hill, with the 9th regiment.

Theſe repeated loſſes, on the ſide of the Americans, obliged the Congreſs, in order to keep up the ſpirits of the people, to lay the whole blame upon the timidity and ill conduct of General St. Clair, which brought on a long diſcuſſion of the matter between them and that General.

The Britiſh troops being elated with ſucceſs to the higheſt degree, proceeded with the greateſt animation and fortitude, in conveying their artillery, waggons, and baggage towards Fort-Edward, through a pathleſs marſhy deſart, which the enemy had rendered almoſt impenetrable, by numberleſs artificial difficulties, which threw it towards the end of July, before they arrived at Fort-Edward, which General Schuyler abandoned on their approach, and fled with his troops to Saratoga.——And, although the rapid progreſs of the Britiſh Army had greatly dejected the people of the New-England provinces, yet they did not ſhow the leaſt indication of complaiſance, or ſubmiſſion to the royal army.

General Waſhington had diſpatched Arnold, with a train of artillery, to take the command of

the Northern Army, who, on his arrival, called them over from Saratoga to Still-water, imagining it to be a more convenient ſituation for retarding the progreſs of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing along the Hudſon's-river.

The Indians, in ſpite of all the endeavours and regulations of General Burgoyne, had broke out into ſeveral barbarities; particularly the murdering of a Miſs M'Crea, whoſe father was ſaid to be deeply intereſted in the royal cauſe, and herſelf to have been married to a Britiſh officer, on the ſame day that ſhe was maſſacred.

This tragical cataſtrophe was drawn by the Congreſs in the moſt odious colours, while they equally reprobated the cauſe, and the government, which could call forth ſuch ſavage auxiliaries into a civil conteſt.

The cruelties of the Indians, inſtead of intimidating the inhabitants of New-England, rather inſpired them with indignation and revenge, to ſuch a degree, that the militia poured from all quarters of the country, in ſurpriſing numbers, in order to repel, or capture their victorious invaders.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne and the army had been conſtantly employed, ſince their arrival at the Hudſon's-River, in tranſporting thither from Fort-George, batteaux, ammunition, and proviſions, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines and ſtores.—And although the diſtance was only about eighteen miles, yet ſuch was the difficulty of conveyance through bad roads, untractable deſarts, by the ſcarcity of horſes and carriages,

and heavy rains, that after labouring with inceſſant ardour, from the 30th of July, to the 15th of Auguſt, they had no more reſerved from the current conſumpt of the army, than four days proviſions in ſtore, and only about ten batteaux in the Hudſon's-river.

During theſe diſtreſſing exigencies of the Britiſh army, General Burgoyne was informed, that the Americans had depoſited a large quantity of proviſions, wheel-carriages, and other ſtores, at a place called Binington, about twenty miles eaſt of the North, or Hudſon's-river.

In conſequence of which, Lieut. Colonel Beaum, was ſent with a party to ſeize them; but being retarded longer than he expected by the difficulty of the paſſage, General Stark, who commanded at Binington, had time to be reinforced, with a large body of militia; and ſallying out on the 16th of Auguſt, attacked colonel Beaum and his detachment in their encampment, within four miles of Binington; who, although greatly inferior in number, bravely reſiſted a numerous militia, who poured upon them on all ſides, till at laſt, being abandoned by moſt of his men, except a party of Riedeſel's dragoons, with whom he charged the enemy, ſword in hand; but being wounded, he was taken priſoner with great part of his ſurviving troops.

The Americans being elated by this ſucceſsful enterpriſe, boldly attacked Colonel Bryman, who had juſt arrived too late to the aſſiſtance of Colonel Beaum; and although his troops were greatly fatigued, yet they bravely repulſed the enemy at

the firſt onſet, and having fired forty rounds, being all their ammunition, they were obliged to retreat in the beſt manner they could.

The American Northern army, which had been ſucceſſively unfortunate, ſince ſome time before the death of Montgomery, began now to find, That the Britiſh and Germans were by no means ſo invincible as they had imagined; and therefore proceeded, with great alacrity, while General Waſhington, then apprehenſive of the effects of General Howe's daily expected invaſion, took the opportunity of magnifying their ſucceſſes at Binington, as a great victory; and in order to inſpirit his troops, cauſed great rejoicings to be obſerved in his camp.

During theſe unfortunate operations, Colonel St. Leger had laid ſiege to Fort-Stanwix, now named by the Americans Fort-Schuyler; and being informed, that a General Harkimer was coming to the relief of the garriſon, with a convoy of proviſions, eſcorted by about 900 militia, he did not think proper to ſtay till he ſhould be encloſed between two fires; but judiciouſly detached Sir John Johnſtone, with a party of regulars, and all the Indians, then under his command, to ly in ambuſh, and intercept them as they advanced.

General Harkimer, and his party, proceeding ſecurely along, without either flanking or reconnoitring party, were encloſed in the ambuſcade, before they were aware; and, after a ſevere engagement, in which the Indians did great execution, they were totally routed, and only about one third of their number found means to make their eſcape.

Immediately after this ſucceſsful expedition, Colonel St. Leger diſpatched a ſummons to Colonel Ganſevort, who commanded the garriſon, greatly magnifying the number of his troops, and aſſuring them of the moſt perfect ſafety from the cruelty of Indians, and humane treatment, in caſe they ſurrendered; but, at the ſame time, threatning them with the utmoſt barbarity of the ſavages, if they perſiſted in obſtinacy.

The commander of the garriſon returned him for anſwer, "That while he was entruſted with the charge of the Fort, by the united States of America, he would defend it to the laſt extremity; neither would he at all concern himſelf about any conſequences that might attend a proper diſcharge of his duty."

The Indians, having had a great many killed and wounded in the engagement with Harkimer, among whom were a number of their principal warriors; and coming ſhort of the plunder they expected, began now to grow ſullen and untractable, and give great indications of a reſolution they began to entertain, of returning home to their reſpective places of abode.

Colonel St. Leger, alarmed at theſe diſtreſſing appearances, uſed every endeavour to reconcile them to the ſervice; and, in order to flatter their vanity, called a council of war, of their chiefs and captains, and pretended to conſult them on the plan of his future operations: but, while they were ſitting, the main body of the Indians went off, and carried along with them a great deal of the officers baggage.

Some little time, previous to this unfortunate deſertion, General Gates had arrived, and taken the command of the American Northern army, and had diſpatched Arnold with a large detachment of troops, to the relief of Fort Schuler.—Upon hearing of which, Colonel St. Leger, was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of ordering a retreat; and, on the 22d of Auguſt, retired in conſiderable diſorder and precipitation, only two days before the arrival of Arnold.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne had continued his camp on the eaſt ſhore of the Hudſon's-river, nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, where, by unremitting induſtry and perſeverance, he had brought from Fort-George, about thirty days proviſions, and other neceſſary ſtores: and, having thrown a bridge of rafts acroſs the river, he conveyed them over to the heights of Saratoga, about the middle of September, where he fixed his camp, while the enemy then lay in the neighbourhood of Still-water, towards whom General Burgoyne marched his whole force, and arrived on the 19th, within a little of the enemy's lines.

The American army, under the command of Gates and Arnold, turned out on their approach, when a ſevere and well-ſupported conflict enſued, in which the Britiſh acquired great honour, by their inferiority in number; and after an ardous ſtruggle, and hard-fought battle, of about four hours inceſſant fire, juſt as the light cloſed, the Americans retreated, and left their opponents

barely maſters of the field, who lay upon their arms all that night, and in the morning ſtrongly fortified their camp, almoſt within canon-ſhot of the American lines.

Both armies had loſt conſiderably in this engagement; and although the Britiſh had acquired great honour, yet they had now grappled with ſuch an enemy, as they had ſcarcely expected to have found in America.—And the Indians, who as yet adhered to their leader, being diſappointed in the acquiſition of the plunder they expected, perfideouſly deſerted their undaunted commander, at the critical period on which their ſervice was moſt eſſentially neceſſary; while great numbers of the Canadians, and Britiſh Provincials, followed their example.

In this diſtreſſing ſituation, General Burgoyne, who had croſſed the Hudſon's-river, in complaiſance with his orders, which, he ſays, were to proceed to Albany *at all hazard;* and had all along been fully confident of ſuccour from New-York, received, with great difficulty, a letter in cypher from Sir Henry Clinton, adviſing him of an intention to make a diverſion up the North-river in his favour, by attacking Fort-Montgomery, and ſome other works, which the Americans had erected on the river, in order to cut off the communication between Albany and New-York.

General Burgoyne immediately returned the meſſenger; and diſpatched two officers in diſguiſe, by different routes, to inform General Clinton of his having only proviſions for the army till the

12th of next month; and of his fixed determination to hold out till that time.

General Lincolin, having collected a large body of New-England militia, had made an attack upon the Forts of Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence, intending to cut off all communication between Canada and the Britiſh Army:—but after ſeveral bold and deſperate attempts, he was repulſed by the bravery of Brigadier-General Powel, who then commanded in Ticonderoga.

General Burgoyne, about the beginning of October, was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of abridging the ſoldiers rations; which, however diſcouraging to an army, was now ſubmitted to with great reſignation and fortitude, and reflects the higheſt honour and merit upon that diſtreſſed, but perſevering army.

Matters continued in this forlorn ſtate, till the 7th of October, when there being no intelligence, or appearance of the intended co-operation, and the limited time of the army's remaining in that ſituation, within a few days of being expired.—It was thought adviſeable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to diſcover whether there was any poſſibility of forcing a paſſage, ſhould it be requiſite to advance, or practicable to diſlodge them for the convenience of retreat.

The detachment alotted for this purpoſe, conſiſted of 1500 of the flower of the army, with ſeveral pieces of artilery, and commanded by the General in perſon, ſeconded by his beſt and moſt experienced officers.

The troops having arrived at the enemy's left,

they were boldly attacked, on the left wing, by a great ſuperiority of force, which they reſiſted with great intrepedity, till they obſerved that the enemy were marching a ſtrong detachment round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat.

This obliged the light infantry, and ſome more of the troops to form into a ſecond line, in order to prevent them from being cut off from their camp.——But while this motion was in agitation, the enemy puſhed on a ſtrong reinforcement, to decide the action on the left, which being at laſt overpowered, by a great ſuperiority of force, was obliged to give way; upon which the light infantry, and 24th regiment, by a happy movement, preſerved that wing from immediate ruin.

In this critical ſituation, the troops were obliged, by every exertion, to endeavour to effectuate a regular retreat; and, although very hard preſſed, returned in tolerable good order to their camp, leaving behind them, ſix pieces of canon, great part of the artillery-men and horſes being killed in the action.

The enemy now puſhed on their ſucceſs with great ardour and impetuoſity, ſtorming the lines with uncommon fierceneſs, expoſed to a well-ſupported fire of grape-ſhot and ſmall arms, which did great execution.—The entrenchments, defended by Lord Balcarras, with the light infantry, were boldly attacked by Arnold, who being at laſt grievouſly wounded, his troops were repulſed with great difficulty and conſiderable loſs.

But during this general and obſtinate conteſt, colonel Bryman, who commanded the Germans,

being killed, the entrenchment defended by that corps was carried by ſtorm, with the loſs of their baggage, tents, and artillery. — The night at laſt put an end to the conflict, while nothing could exceed the diſtreſſed and calamitous ſtate of the Britiſh army, which they nevertheleſs bore with a degree of fortitude and unconquerable firmneſs, peculiar alone to Britiſh veteran troops.

Nothing could now prevent them from inevitable deſtruction, on the enſuing day, but a total change of poſition in the night, which was planned with ſuch judgment, and carried into execution with ſuch ſilence and order, that the whole Britiſh army decamped from their ground in the dead of the night, and took an entire new poſition, without being obſerved.

Both armies had ſuffered ſeverely on this fatal and unfortunate day; for, beſides General Frazer and Colonel Bryman, the Britiſh had loſt Major Williams of the artillery, Major Ackland of the granadiers, who were taken, and Sir James Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne.

The Britiſh army, being now convinced, that nothing leſs than a general and deciſive action could extricate them from their preſent calamities, continued, without effect, in their new poſition, to offer battle to the enemy on the enſuing day.—But this they as carefully avoided, except ſome ſkirmiſhes, while they were endeavouring to encloſe the right of the Britiſh encampment, by which they would have had them entirely ſurrounded.

Nothing now remained, but for the Britiſh army to effectuate a retreat to Saratoga; and according-

ly they began to move about nine o'clock at night, carrying off their whole baggage and artillery, although they were obliged to leave the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals, which of courſe fell into the hands of General Gates, who uſed them with great humanity and attention.

From the various obſtructions of the march, the army did not paſs the fords of Fiſh-kill Creek, which lies a little to the north of Saratoga, until the third day on the morning, when they found part of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up works on the heights before them, which however were abandoned on their approach; and the parties retired over a ford of the Hudſon's-river, and there joined a greater force, ſtationed to prevent the paſſing of the Britiſh army.

No hope was now left, but that of effectuating a retreat, at leaſt, as far as Fort-George; and, for that purpoſe, a detachment of artificers, with a ſtrong guard, were ſent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort-Edward: but they were ſcarcely begun to work, when they obſerved a large body of the enemy marching towards them; upon which their provincial guard made their eſcape, and left the workmen to ſhift for themſelves, the beſt way they could, who nevertheleſs got moſtly ſafe in.

Councils of war were now held, to determine upon what was beſt to be done, in theſe diſtreſſing and alarming circumſtances, and to conſider of the practicability of a further retreat: but finding all poſſibility of repairing the roads at an end, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould carry their proviſions

on their backs; and, by a night-march, difficult and dangerous as it was, to gain Fort-Edward.

But while preparations were making for carrying this desperate resolve into execution, they were informed, that the enemy had, with great activity and vigilance, cut off every possible means of retreat, by being strongly posted at the fords, where they were obliged to pass, as well as on the high grounds between Fort-Edward and Fort-George, while their parties every where surrounded, and watched the motions of the army.

Words can by no means express the deplorable and calamitous state to which the British troops were now reduced; being worn out with a long series of hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned by the Indians, and discouraged by the desertion of the Provincials and Canadians, in their greatest necessity and distress:—reduced by repeated and heavy loss of some of their best officers and soldiers, to the number of only about 3,500 effective fighting men, not quite 2,000 of whom were British: their provisions just exhausted, and excluded from all possibility of retreat, by being invested with an army more than four times their number, who, from a knowledge of their condition, refused to fight them, and who could not possibly be attacked on any part; and obliged to ly constantly on their arms, while a continued shower of rifle and grape-shot pervaded every part of their camp.

But as real magnanimity and courage submits to despair, with great reluctance, the troops bore

all theſe calamities with unparalleled conſtancy, temper, and fortitude, ſtill hoping for the promiſed aſſiſtance from New-York; or, at leaſt, of being able to bring the enemy to an engagement, and either extricate themſelves with honour, from impending ruin, or glorioufly die in the daring attempt.—This, however, could not poſſibly be effected: for the enemy carefully evited every ſuch opportunity, while their numbers were daily encreaſing; the militia pouring in from all quarters, eager to partake of the glory, the ſpoil, or the pleaſure of capturing thoſe whom they had formerly viewed with terror and diſmay.

Being now reduced to the laſt extremity, no appearance of relief, and the proviſions within three days of being entirely out;—General Burgoyne thought it expedient, in ſuch an important affair, to take the general ſuffrage of the army; and therefore called a council of war, not only of the general and other field officers, but of the principal captains commanding detachments; in which it was unanimouſly determined to open a treaty, and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Few ſcenes can be more affecting, than thus to behold a brave and enterprizing General, apparently deſtitute of thoſe lucrative or mercenary views, that might have induced him to ſpin out or protract the war, for his own private emolument, but emulous to bring it to a happy termination by a vigorous exertion of the powers committed to his truſt;—led on by poſitive orders, and the deluſive hopes of promiſed aſſiſtance, into the interior parts of a wild and barbarous country, and there deſert-

ed by perfidious auxiliaries;—disappointed of relief;—his brave and persevering army greatly exhausted, with the terrible monster FAMINE, staring them full in the face;—at last obliged to capitulate with those whom he had formerly held in such contempt and derision.

At length, upon the 17th day of October, after several altercations respecting military honour, the convention was concluded; and, exclusive of the provision of the army, on its way to, and accommodation at Boston, the principal articles of the treaty were, 'That the army should march out of 'the camp, with all the honours of war, to a fixed 'place, where they were to deposite their arms; 'to be allowed a free embarkation and passage to 'Europe from Boston, upon condition of their not 'serving again in America, during the war.—The 'army not to be separated, particularly the men 'from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of 'regularity to be admitted: the officers to be allowed their parole, and to wear their side-arms: 'all private property to be sacred; and the public 'stores delivered upon honour: no baggage to be 'searched or molested: all persons of whatever 'country, appertaining to, or following the camp, 'to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation: and the Canadians to return to their own 'country, liable to its conditions.'

It is generally allowed, that General Gates fulfilled all these articles with great punctuality and honour, so far as he had it in his power; and behaved with great moderation and politeness, through the transaction of the whole matter.

During the execution of this humiliating alternative, General Sir Henry Clinton, with about 3000 men, and a proper naval force, commanded by Comodore Hotham, had gone up the North-river, and inveſted Forts-Montgomery and Clinton, which were both carried by ſtorm, after a furious and conjunct attack of the fleet and army, while another guarriſon, called Fort-Conſtitution, and two frigates were ſet on fire, and precipitately abandoned on the approach of the Britiſh forces.

In theſe garriſons were found about 67 pieces of canon, beſides a boom and chain acroſs the river, which was ſaid to have coſt about £70,000, in making; and was, upon the whole, an extraordinary proof of American induſtry.

Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, Sir James Wallace, with a ſquadron of light veſſels, and General Vaughan, with a detachment of troops, continued their excurſions up the river, for ſome days, carrying devaſtation and terror wherever they went, till General Gates was under the neceſſity of moving towards them, with a much ſuperior force.—Upon which they retired to New-York with the fleet and army.

The troops commanded by General Burgoyne, being now unarmed, in the hands of the Americans, were treated, on their way to Boſton, in the moſt daſtardly manner: the Congreſs alledging, as a pretence for their perfidy, that the exact number of catridge-boxes had not been delivered up.—But this frivolous pretence, only ſerves to confirm, that people not really poſſeſſed of good principles, will eaſily metamorphoſe the moſt imma-

terial trifles, into eſſential points, in order to proceed to the moſt flagrant violation of juſtice.

This ſeverity of treatment, had drawn from General Burgoyne, a long remonſtrating letter to Congreſs, complaining of their bad quarters, and imploring redreſs: from which the Congreſs thought proper to infer, that he intended to break through the articles of convention; and therefore refuſed to fulfil the terms on their part. This unfair conſtruction, drew from General Burgoyne, a long explanation of his letter; and, in order to convince them of the ſincere intentions of his army, the officers ſigned their paroles, which they had hitherto refuſed to do on account of their bad uſage.

Notwithſtanding of theſe convincing evidences of fidelity and honour, on the part of the Britiſh, the Congreſs were unalterably determined upon the retention of the troops; and, for that purpoſe, *unanimouſly reſolved*, to ſuſpend the embarkation of General Burgoyne's army, till the convention ſhould be ratified by the Parliament of Britain, imagining that others would ſoon be ſent out in their place, from the garriſons where they would be relieved.

General Burgoyne imagining, that his preſence would be neceſſary in Great-Britain, not only to vindicate his own character, and that of his army; but, if poſſible, to procure the ratification of the convention of Saratoga,—returned home, on parole, for theſe purpoſes. But, on his arrival in Britain, he ſoon found, that he was no longer a favourite of court, being denied acceſs to his royal

preſence, and ſhown every other mark of diſpleaſure.

Mortified and nettled at this political affront, he endeavoured to juſtify his conduct in a very elegant ſpeech in the houſe of Commons; and ſtrongly inſiſted, that he ſhould undergo a parliamentary enquiry; which, being partly refuſed, he peremptorily inſiſted, that he ſhould be tried by a court-martial, which was alſo declined, on pretence, that he was a priſoner to Congreſs, and ought to return to his troops. This harſh treatment, however, induced the enemies of miniſtry to alledge, that they were affraid to bring his inſtructions to light, in caſe of ſomething appearing unfavourable to themſelves.

But, as every tender heart muſt feel for heroiſm in diſtreſs,—I ſhall here leave this much neglected, though able and interpriſing General, wreſtling with a reverſe of fortune, and return to an army, who had hitherto taken it cool and eaſy; ſome of whom, being now drowned in diſſipation, neither ſeemed to wiſh for, nor to be emulous about the termination of the war.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings of the Army in Philadelphia, during the winter.—Colonel Abercromby's expidition up the Delaware.—Various regulations eſtabliſhed in Philadelphia.—Reflections on its new inhabitants.—A plot diſcovered for the deſtruction of the Britiſh officers.—The Meeting-houſes converted into hoſpitals.—Copies of the conciliatory Bill arrive at Philadelphia.—The effects thereof in the army.—Its reception among the Americans.—Mr. Deane arrives at Congreſs, with copies of the treaty of commerce, and alliance, between France and America.—The articles of the Treaty.—General Clinton arrives at Philadelphia, and takes the command.—A particular deſcription of the Mechenza.—Preparations for evacuating Philadelphia.—The Commiſſioners arrive from Great-Britain.—Their propoſals to the Americans, which are rejected by Congreſs.

THE Britiſh army having reconnoitred the American encampment, at the White-Pine Marſh, as already hinted; and finding it impracticable to diſlodge them, they returned to Philadelphia, as if piqued at the inauſpiciouſneſs of MARS, and inliſted themſelves under the banners of a Goddeſs, whoſe ſervice was more properly adapted to the inclemency of the weather, in that cold ſeaſon of the year.

And as temples for the oblations to their favourite miſtreſs, the play-houſe, which had lain unoccupied ſince the firſt reſolves of Congreſs, was now fitted up at a great expence; and ſome very elegant houſes, which had been abandoned by their owners, were converted into ball-rooms, and other places for nocturnal entertainments, while every other proceeding abundantly proclaimed, that ſome of the officers were more ſolicitous about the hacknied ſmiles of a coquet, or giddy girl, than the general approbation of the people of Great-Britain.

And a number of the fine ladies of Philadelphia, ſeemed to be of opinion, that the lace and feather, were accompliſhments of a very ſuperior nature; and that the affected rhapſodies, extracted from comedy, were much more agreeable, than the plain and ingenuous complaints of their American lovers.

The general feſtivity being thus accelerated, by every concurring circumſtance, one ſmall difficulty ſeemed at firſt to ariſe, from the want of male comedians, real actreſſes having come over along with the army.—But this deficiency was ſoon ſupplied, by a ſet of officers, who were tolerably verſant in the re-public of plays; and appeared to be much more in their real element, when ſhining upon the ſtage, than when acting upon the terrifying plains of MARS.

Notwithſtanding of this general ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, there were ſtill in the army numbers of officers, whoſe military genius and inſatiable thirſt

for honour and glory, induced them to perform ſome very dangerous, but ſucceſsful enterprizes; particularly Colonel Abercromby, who went up the Delaware, with a choſen detachment of troops, and did great execution on both ſides of the river, eſpecially in the Jerſeys, from whence he brought in a number of priſoners.

General Howe, on his arrival at Philadelphia, was under the neceſſity of borrowing a large ſum of the old paper currency, from the opulent inhabitants, in order to pay the troops, as the ſhips with the money could not be got up; and had iſſued a proclamation, in order to inforce its circulation; which, however, was attended with conſiderable difficulty.

A civil police was alſo eſtabliſhed; and Joſeph Galloway, Eſq; who had been formerly a member of Congreſs, but had fled to New-York, on the declaration of Independence, was appointed ſuperintendent-general of the city; and all the inhabitants were required to come and take an oath of allegiance to Great-Britain.

In the mean time, General Waſhington had moved his camp from the White-Pine Marſh, to the Valley-Forge, where, being cantoned in the open fields, and his army exceedingly ill provided with cloathing, and other neceſſaries, all his influence was neceſſary, in order to keep them together: and, for that purpoſe, he encouraged them with the hopes, that the next would be the laſt campaign; while he circulated a long and ſubmiſſive letter, to the people of the ſeveral colonies,

desiring them to provide cattle for the army; and advising the young gentlemen to raise a corps of volunteer light cavalry, to serve in the army of the United States.

PHILADELPHIA, by its great fame, as a fine city, had drawn thither, after the British Army, a vast number of adventurers of various nations, who formed a numerous and mixed multitude, and exhibited a variegated scene for speculation, in order to ascertain the various ways and means, by which different descriptions of persons, according to their natural capacities, and ordinary strain of thinking, were severally grasping at those great, but little understood objects, *happiness* and *respect*.

A great majority, in a decisive and confident manner, seemed to lay claim to respect, from their situation in life, or the appellation of their employment in the world, without ever once considering, whether they were entitled to it by their internal real worth, good principles, or ordinary demeanour:—and appeared to have placed their principal happiness in projects adapted to the accumulation of wealth, and the further advancement of their worldly grandeur.—While others, of more consistancy of thought, were altogether indifferent, by what honest and lawful method they procured for themselves and dependents, the necessary and agreeable comforts of life. And considering themselves only as members of the great community at large, differing from others in nothing, but in the quantity, and employment of the talents committed to their trust, were charitably disposed towards society in general, rejoicing in the hope of

the virtuous, and wiſhing to reclaim the abandonedly wicked.

But as a glaring contraſt to theſe, another deſcription of perſons ſeemed to call loudly for public attention, and may be ſhortly ſummed up in the three almoſt ſynonimous terms, the *coxcomb*, the *fop*, and the *beaux*.

Their principal happineſs conſiſting in the figure and decoration of their perſons, they appeared to be fully confident of *reſpect*, from the tremendous ſingularity of their dreſs, the haughty elevation of their eyes, and diſtortion of their whole features, with their capering geſticulation of walk; which proclaimed a vacuity of good ſenſe within, generally ſupplied by vanity and ſelf-conceit, with other turbulent paſſions, which broke out in private companies, by ſuffocating petulence; and in the aſſembly-room, by threatening imprecations, if ſuch a *Toaſt* ſhould dance with any other than themſelves.

But in taverns and top-rooms, they effectually intended to command reſpect; particularly from the waiters, by noiſy clamour, rude ringing of the bell, diſliking every thing that came to table, and curſing the bar-keeper if he knew how to wait upon gentlemen.—While even, excluſive of theſe, it was a very affecting ſcene to obſerve, ſuch a number of otherwiſe valuable young men, careleſly floating down the ſtream of debauchery, and ruinating pleaſures.

As I was naturally deſirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the people

where I happened to reſide, I generally attended the *croud;* where my natural taciturnity ſerved me in great ſtead, particularly in political diſputes, which were ſometimes carried on with great warmth.

The play-houſe, which was duly attended, and always full, was one night, as I happened to be there, within a trifle of being blown up, by a diabolical plot, laid by ſome unprincipled incendiaries, who had found means to convey a large quantity of gun-powder, into one of the cellars below the theatre; by which they would have had it in their power, to have blown up the commanders in chief, and principal officers of the army and navy.—But happily this infernal deſign was diſcovered by the ſentinel, who ſtood over the houſe, obſerving an old woman going towards the place, with ſome materials for the purpoſe.

Strick enquiry being immediately made, one of the favourite field-officers of the Britiſh army, was taken into cuſtody; who, beſides having an agreeable woman to his wife, had taken a miſs into keeping, who had lately come in from Waſhington's camp, but had now turned evidence againſt him.

A general court-martial being held for the purpoſe, this female evidence deponed, "That by her means, the priſoner before them, had ſent out ſeveral letters to General Waſhington, beſides being concerned in ſending out goods to the American army."—This, however, was not long done, when ſhe reverſed her evidence, and counter-ſwore to all that ſhe had before given in. Upon which, the

court-martial acquitted him for the time, for want of ſufficient evidence.

During this great and variegated buſtle, a number of the inhabitants, who had hitherto been well-affected to the Britiſh government, began now to entertain a very indifferent opinion of the army; as out of contempt of the Preſbyterian profeſſion, they had converted all their Meeting-houſes into hoſpitals or barracks, except a ſmall one, formerly occupied by Mr. Telfer, which, with great difficulty was procured from the commander in chief, for the accommodation of a clergyman, who had been one of the profeſſors in Princeton-college, but, like the reſt of North-Britons, had taken refuge in the Britiſh army; and, during that winter, conſtituted the only Preſbyterian meeting-houſe within the Britiſh lines.

In the mean time, the Britiſh miniſtry underſtanding that the French were favourably affected to Congreſs, had drawn up a conciliatory Bill for America; a rough draught of which arrived at Philadelphia, about the middle of April 1778, and was paſted up in the London coffee-houſe, containing ſuch humiliating conceſſions from Great-Britain to America, that the very mentioning of its terms, was generally accounted almoſt equal to high-treaſon by the majority of the officers, till they had gone and ſatisfied themſelves, by occular demonſtration, in reading its contents.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the rage and aſtoniſhment which theſe conceſſions excited among the Britiſh army and its followers.

The refugees, numbers of whom had left large

eſtates in America, found that they were at all events to fall a ſacrifice to the ineffectual operations of Britain; and therefore curſed the pride, ſtupidity, and puſilanimity of the M——y, in going to war with a people from whom they would hear no petitions, till they were proſtrate at their feet in unconditional ſubmiſſion: and to be at laſt obliged to cringe for a peace, upon much more advantageous terms, than had ever been aſked at the commencement of the war.—While a great many of the officers of the army, being fully confident, that the terms would be accepted, did not heſitate among themſelves, to curſe the timidity of P——t: —alleging, "That they would ſoon be reduced to the petty ſubſiſtance of half pay; and have no opportunity of being advanced in the army."

Copies of the conciliatory Bill, had, by ſeveral methods, been interſperſed through the country, for the peruſal of the people, which the Congreſs, out of contempt, publiſhed in their Gazette; at the ſame time, "prohibiting any body of men, belonging to the united States of America, from treating with any Commiſſioners that might be ſent over from Britain, till ſuch time as their fleets and armies were withdrawn, and Independence granted:"—while they recommended to the people of the ſeveral States, to have their quotas of troops ready early in the ſpring, as Britain was endeavouring to lull them into a fatal ſecurity.

Governor Tryon, of New-York, had ſent ſeveral copies of the bill to General Waſhington, deſiring that they might be circulated among the officers and men of his army. In anſwer to which, Gene-

ral Washington inclosed in his letter, one of their newspapers, containing the bill printed in the Gazette, attended by the resolves of Congress on that account.

And upon a similar application to Governor Turnbull, he returned for answer, "That overtures of peace were generally made from, and to the supreme authorities of the belligerent powers respectively; and that it was altogether new, to make the first application to the people on such an occasion.

"The time has been, continued he, when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent-state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day is irrevocably past.—The repeated rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions, the commencement of hostilities, the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part, in its several stages, the insolence which displays itself, on every petty advantage, are all insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a piece with Great-Britain, on any other terms, than the most absolute and perfect independence."

At length, about the beginning of May, the resolutions of Congress, and their separation from Great-Britain, seemed to be fatally sealed, by the arrival of Mr Deane, express from Paris in a royal frigate, with the important intelligence of the king of France, having ratified the treaties of commerce and alliance, eventual and defensive, between them and the thirteen United States of America; copies whereof he had brought over

for the ratification of Congreſs: the moſt favourable articles of which were publiſhed in the American Gazette, with long encomiums upon the equity, generoſity, and honour of the French nation; with the favourable diſpoſition of Europe in general towards America.—This great and long wiſhed-for event, was received in the ſeveral provinces with uncommon demonſtrations of joy and exultation, while they began to imagine themſelves as already independent, when they came to be acquainted with the moſt eſſential articles of the treaty of alliance.—An abridgement of which, runs thus:

1. "That in caſe of a war between France and Britain, during the conteſt with America, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the United States, ſhould make it a common cauſe, and aſſiſt one another with their councils and forces, according as the exigencies of affairs ſhould require.

2. "The eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance, is to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, of the ſaid United States, as well in matters of government, as of commerce.

3. "The two contracting parties, ſhall each on its part, and in the manner it may judge moſt proper, make all the effort in its power, againſt the common enemy, in order to attain the end propoſed.

4. "They mutually agree to aid and aſſiſt one another, in any particular enterprize; and the quantity and kind of ſuccour, as well as the com-

penſation thereof, to be ſettled by a convention for the purpoſe.

5. " That if the United States ſhould think proper, to reduce the Britiſh power, remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the iſlands of Bermudas, that thoſe countries ſhould be confederated with, and dependent upon the United States.

6. " His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces forever, the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Bermudas, as well as any part of the Continent of America, which, by former treaties, may have been ceded to Great-Britain.

7. " That in caſe his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhould be able to reduce any of the Britiſh Iſlands, in the gulf of Mexico, that they ſhall belong to the crown of France.

8. " Neither of the two parties ſhall conclude, either truce or peace, with Great-Britain without the formal conſent of the other, firſt obtained.—And they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States ſhall have been formally, or tacitly aſſured, by the treaty that ſhall terminate the war.

9. " The contracting parties declare, that as they are both reſolved to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, there ſhall be no after compenſation on either ſide, whatever may be the event of the war.

10. " The Moſt Chriſtian King, and the United States, agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them; and to accede

to the preſent alliance, under ſuch conditions, as ſhall be freely agreed to, and ſettled between all the parties.

11. "The two parties mutually guarantee to one another for ever.—The United States to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, his preſent poſſeſſions in America, as well as thoſe he may acquire, by the treaty of peace. And his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty guarantees to the United States, their liberty, ſovereignty, and independence; abſolute and unlimited, as well in government as in commerce: alſo whatever poſſeſſions they may acquire in America, now in poſſeſſion of Great-Britain, as it ſhall be fixed at the end of the war.

12. "The intention of the preceding article, ſhall commence immediately, on the breaking out of a rupture between France and England: but, if no ſuch rupture takes place, it ſhall not commence till peace is concluded.

13. "This treaty ſhall be ratified by both parties; and the ratifications exchanged in the ſpace of ſix months, if poſſible. Done at PARIS, Feb. 6th, 1778.; and ſigned, by *Conrode*, *Alexander Gerard*,—*Benjamine Frankline*,—*Silas Deane*,—*Arthur Lee*."

The Britiſh Miniſtry appearing not to be altogether ſatisfied with the *tarde grade* operations of Sir William Howe, had appointed Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, to be Commander in Chief in America; who accordingly arrived from New-York at Philadelphia, about the 8th of May, upon which, great lamentations were heard in the camp; as many of the officers now imagined, that

their days of feſtivity and eaſe were drawing to an end; and that they would now be obliged to earn their bread with the ſweat of their brow.

But they being determined, to have one hearty draught of diſſipation, before they ſhould part with their beloved mode of life,—ſet about making ſuch uncommon preparations for the purpoſe, as fully convinced us, that we were to ſee ſomething not only new, but very extraordinary.

Accordingly, the flats of a very large elegant houſe, a little below Philadelphia, were thrown into one very ſplendid apartment each;—beſides a vaſt number of artificers being employed, for ſeveral weeks, in fabricating a large ſaloon, or a partment with a ceiled roof, 210 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 22 high; one end of which was joined to, and connected with the houſe.

Theſe apartments were fitted up at many a thouſand pounds expence; and the city of Philadelphia ranſacked for looking-glaſſes, to decorate the whole, as ſhall afterwards be deſcribed; while moſt of the milliners in town, were conſtantly employed, for a conſiderable time, in making curious Aſſiatic dreſſes, for the knights and their dulcineas, as well as trimmings for the vaſt number of looking-glaſſes, and branched candleſticks, employed in the houſe, appointed for this very extraordinary entertainment.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the city ſeemed greatly at a loſs, to account for ſuch remarkable indications of joy; as it then began to be privately whiſpered, that the Britiſh forces

were about to evacuate Philadelphia, a formidable French fleet being ſoon expected upon the coaſts.

At length every thing being in readineſs, and the expence of the whole clubed by twenty-two field officers, with four managers appointed to ſuperintend the entertainment, on the day appointed, almoſt all the officers of the Britiſh army, except thoſe upon duty, with a great number of gay ladies, marched to the upper end of the city, where they embarked in fine gallies, by three grand diviſions, as follows.

The firſt galley, in the *Regatta*, had on board ſeveral generals, and a number of ladies.——The galley in the centre, being the poſt of honour, had on board Sir Henry Clinton, Lord and Sir William Howes, with the officers of their ſuite, and ſome ladies.——The galley in the rear, had on board General Knyphauſen, and the officers of his ſuite, three Britiſh Generals, and a parcel of ladies.—On each quarter of the gallies, and forming their diviſions, were five flat-boats, lined with green cloth, and filled with officers and ladies.

In front of the whole, were three flat-boats, with a band of muſic in each, while ſix barges rowed about each flank, to keep off the boats in the river.——The three gallies were curiouſly dreſſed out with colours and ſtreamers.

All the ſhips in the harbour had their flags and penants hoiſted; and the Fanny armed ſhip, which lay oppoſite to Market-Street wharf in the middle, was in a manner entirely covered over, with a vaſt number of different ſets of colours, while the Roe-

buck lay a little diſtant with the Admiral's flag hoiſted at the fore-top-maſt-head.

The Regatta having arrived oppoſite to Market-ſtreet wharf, they there lay upon their oars for ſome time, and played, *God ſave the King;* which was anſwered by three cheers from the people on board the ſhips.

They then proceeded, and having got below the city, oppoſite to the houſe appointed, they landed at the foot of an elegant walk, prepared for the purpoſe, upon which they were ſaluted by ſeventeen guns from the Roebuck, and as many from the Vigilant war ſhips.

The proceſſion was formed by all the bands of muſic in the front, the four managers next, and the generals, with the reſt of the officers and ladies in proper order.—The ſides of the walk being lined with granadiers and light dragoons.

About half way between the river and the houſe, was a large ſquare, or field, lined with troops; at the head of which were two large pavilions, with rows of benches, riſing one above another, where the ladies and gentlemen ranged themſelves, while fourteen of the greateſt *Belles*, dreſſed out in Turkiſh habits, ſat by ſevens on two particular benches in the front, to be contended for by their reſpective knights.

They were no ſooner ſet, than the ſound of trumpets were heard at a diſtance; and immediately a company of knights entered the liſts, dreſſed in rich Aſiatic habits, of red and white ſilk, mounted on fine gray horſes, richly capariſoned, in trappings of the ſame colour; and were preceded by four

trumpeters, curiouſly dreſſed, with an herald in his robes of ceremony, having on his Tunic the device of two blended roſes, and for motto, *We droop when ſeparated.*

The champion of this order of knights, capered along on a fine managed horſe; his ſtirrups being held by two black ſlaves, having faſhes and drawers of blue and white ſilk, with large ſilver claſps round their necks and arms, their breaſts and ſhoulders being bare.—Two ſquires, one on each ſide, elegantly dreſſed in the ſame taſte, walked in a ſtately manner, partly before him; the one bearing his lance, and the other his ſhield, upon which was the device of Cupid riding upon a lion, with the motto of, *Surmount by love.*

The champion was followed by ſix other knights, mounted, dreſſed, and attended in the very ſame manner, each having his different device and motto, and appearing in honour of his reſpective fair.—Having rode round the ſquare, they ranged themſelves oppoſite their own ladies, while their herald, with a flouriſh of trumpets, proclaimed, "That the ladies of the *blended roſe* excelled all others of the world, in wit, beauty, and every accompliſhment; and if any knights ſhould doubt or deny it, let them enter the liſts, and diſpute it by force of arms."

At the third repetition of this challenge, an herald, with four trumpeters, dreſſed in black and orange ſilk, galloped within the ſquare, and rode up in front of the pavilion, where, with a flouriſh of trumpets, he proclaimed, "That the knights of

the *burning mountain*, deſpiſe the vain-glorious aſſertions of the knights of the blended roſe; and are willing to prove by deeds of arms, that the ladies of the burning mountain are not exceeded in wit, beauty, and virtue, by any in the world."

Having thus given defiance, the herald returned, and immediately the knights of the burning mountain entered the liſts, dreſſed in black and orange, in the ſame taſte as the others; their champion having for device, a heart with a wreath of flowers, the motto, *Love and glory*.—He was followed by ſix other knights of the ſame order, mounted on black horſes, and attended in the ſame manner as the knights of the blended roſe.

After riding round the ſquare, they came in front of the white knights, the chief of which threw down his *gaunlet*, and the chief of the black ordered his ſquire to take it up.

They then fixed on their ſhields, took their lances; and, taking oppoſite ſides of the ſquare, met with a carreer, and ſhivered their ſpears; which, by the bye, were made of wood and plates of tin. —The ſecond and third courſes, they fired piſtols; and the fourth, fought with their ſwords, which were made of the ſame materials as their ſpears.

All the knights having, one way or other retired, except the two champions, who ſtill continued in furious combat, till the marſhal of the field interpoſed, and told them, that the ladies were fully ſatisfied with their proofs of *valour* and *love;* and commanded them, as they prized the future favours of their miſtreſſes, to deſiſt: which ſummons, being readily obeyed, they altogether, in a very

peaceable manner came forward, and with great grimace and ceremony, ſaluted the ladies.

It will here be neceſſary to obſerve, that on the walk between the ſquare and houſe, were two elegant triumphal arches, finiſhed in the Tuſcan order, and ſplendidly decorated.—The firſt arch, in honour of Lord Howe, diſplayed *Neptune*, with his trident on the top; a ſailor, with a drawn cutlaſs in his hand, on each ſide; and three plumbs of feathers on the ſummit of each wing.—The ſecond in honour of Sir William Howe, diſplayed *Fame* on the top, in figure of a woman, with a trumpet in her hand.—On the right was a boom, and on the left a flaming heart.

The knights having ſaluted the ladies, as already mentioned, rode through the firſt arch, preceded by the bands of muſic and their ſquires; and forming themſelves on each ſide of the walk, accompanied by a number of ſtands of colours, they again ſaluted their Turkiſh ladies, who came through firſt, and then lighted down, and joined in the proceſſion.

After paſſing through the ſecond arch, they came into a fine garden, beſide the houſe; and aſcending by ſteps, went into a fine large hall, elegantly finiſhed, where tea was prepared; and in ſide apartments were lemonade, and other cooling refreſhments, while the knights came in, and, on their knees, received of the ladies the favours of their valour and love.

This great gambole, commonly denominated the *Mechinza*, was performed in preſence of near 50,000 ſpectators, almoſt every inhabitant of Phi-

ladelphia, alotting that day to ſee ſuch a ſight as they had never ſeen before, and to have ocular demonſtration for Britiſh diſſipation, of which they had been frequently informed by their patriots, at the commencement of the war.

As I knew that the wonders of the day would fill up a material paragraph in my obſervatory journal, I paid particular attention to what came immediately under my eye; and informed myſelf from the officers, with whom I was acquainted, concerning the particular tranſactions in the houſe.

Tea being over, they aſcended to a large ball-room, richly finiſhed, and bedded with gold, having eighty-five large mirrors, and thirty-four branches with wax-candles.

The knights and their ladies opened the ball: and the whole company danced till ten o'clock at night, when the windows were thrown open, and a ſet of fire-works, which had been conſtructed beſide the houſe, were played off with great dexterity.

The figure of *Fame*, on the top of General Howe's triumphal arch, was now illuminated within, and appeared as a ſtary woman, blowing from her trumpet, in letters of light, TES LAURIERS SONT IMMORTELS.

Having diverted themſelves with the fire-works till twelve o'clock, they went to ſupper, in the large ſaloon, already mentioned; which was richly decorated, having fifty-ſix large pier looking-glaſſes, curiouſly trimmed with ſilk and ribbons; 100 branches, with three lights in each, ſprung from the walls; and 18 luſtres, with 24 lights

in each, hung from the ceiling: all which were richly ornamented, while 300 wax candles were interſperſed upon the table, which was ſpread with 430 covers, and 1,200 diſhes of meat.

On each ſide of the ſaloon, were three alcoves, which ſerved for ſide-boards, *&c.* while 24 black ſlaves, in oriental dreſſes, ranged themſelves on each ſide, and bended to the ground as the Admiral and General entered.

Supper being almoſt over, an *herald* appeared at the end of the ſaloon, and, with a flouriſh of trumpets, proclaimed, "THE KING'S HEALTH; the QUEEN, and ROYAL FAMILY; the ARMY and NAVY; *the Knights, and their Ladies; the Ladies in general;*" while each toaſt was followed by a flouriſh of muſic. After which, they returned to the ball-room and danced till four in the morning, which ended the *Mechinza.*

In a few days after, Sir William Howe took his leave of the army, in order to return home; while the report of the evacuation of Philadelphia, began to be generally believed; and it now appeared, that during the courſe of the winter, the Britiſh Army had found out garriſons of a more attainable nature, and not ſo ſtrongly barrocaded, as thoſe commanded by General Waſhington at the White-Pine Marſh, or the Valley-Forge: and, as a compenſation of their good winter-quarters, had been raiſing up a race of brave Britiſh heroes, to ſupply the deficiency of courage, which they had always imagined to have ſubſiſted in that country.

But, as I afterwards underſtood, this favour

was not ſo gratefully received, as it might have been, by the American army, on their return to town; for, finding a number of their *toaſts* and *belles* pretty far gone with young Britiſh bravos, they deemed it as a reproach to their bravery, and accordingly held ſuch patriotic ladies in the greateſt deteſtation and abhorrence.

At laſt, upon the 26th of May, our apprehenſions, concerning the leaving of Philadelphia, were effectually confirmed by an order from the Commander in chief, for all the ſhipping to fall down the river, on or before the 2d of June following.

This, however, was a moſt unhappy manœver, not only for the merchants and followers of the army, but for the inhabitants, who had remained in the city; as they were well aſſured, that they had now rendered themſelves odious in the eyes of their countrymen; which therefore obliged numbers to embark their families and effects, and take chance along with the Britiſh.

In the mean time, the merchants, having only a few days warning, were buſied in the greateſt buſtle and confuſion, in packing up and embarking their goods; and were ſo expeditious, that by the time appointed, they had every thing on board, when the fleet fell down to Reedy-Iſland, to wait for further orders.

During their reſidence there, the Earl of CARLISLE, Governor JOHNSTONE, and WILLIAM EDEN, Eſq; arrived expreſs from Great-Britain, as Commiſſioners, for reſtoring peace in America; and were joined in the Commiſſion by the Commander in Chief, Sir HENRY CLINTON.

A few days after their arrival, they diſpatched Dr. Ferguſon their ſecretary, with the two acts of parliament, and their commiſſion, to Congreſs: but being refuſed admittance, at the American outpoſts, he was obliged to return, and ſend the diſpatches by common means.

The Commiſſioners, in theſe diſpatches, offered ſuch terms, as at a more early period would have been thankfully received, and would have reſtored peace and felicity to the whole Britiſh empire.—They offered "to conſent to an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, by ſea and land: to reſtore a free intercourſe; and to renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the ſeveral parts of the empire: to extend every freedom to trade, that the reſpective intereſts, on both ſides, could require: to agree, that no military force be kept up in the different States of North America, without the conſent of the general Congreſs, or of the particular Aſſemblies: to concur in meaſures for diſcharging the debt of America, and to raiſe the value and credit of the paper Continental currency: to perpetuate the common union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different States, who ſhould have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; or, if ſent from Britain, to have a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of the different States, to which they may be ſent reſpectively: to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlators, in each particular ſtate; to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation, and internal government; ſo that the Britiſh ſtates,

throughout North America, acting with Great-Britain in peace and war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſts, or conſiſtent with that union of force, on which the ſafety of the common religion and liberty depends."

Although it was ſaid, that theſe favourable propoſitions produced long debates in Congreſs, for ſeveral days; yet the anſwer that they returned by Henry Laurens, their preſident, was, "That the offers now made were founded upon the ſuppoſition, that the United States were dependent upon Britain, which was altogether unadmiſſible: yet they were ſtill inclined to peace, and would willingly enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of commerce, (not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting) as ſoon as Great-Britain ſhould be diſpoſed to acknowledge the Independence of America, or withdraw her fleets and armies."

Thus, by the interpoſition of thoſe then chimerical phantoms, *ſovereignty* and *independence*, ended that conciliatory ſcheme, ſo pregnant with the real happineſs and welfare of both countries.—As by a junction of their intereſts, and united forces, upon ſuch a ſolid baſis, they might not only have preſerved liberty in its utmoſt latitude, but have bid defiance to all the world beſides.

CHAP. XI.

The Britiſh army evacuate Philadelphia.—The fleet goes round to New-York.—The army proceeds through the Jerſeys.—The battle of Monmouth.—General Lee ſuſpended for a year.—The army arrive at New-York.—A French fleet comes to Sandy-hook, and blocks up the harbour.—The conſternation of the inhabitants on that occaſion.—The French fleet goes round to Rhode-Iſland, and inveſts the Fort.—The Britiſh fleet appear off Rhode-Iſland.—Both fleets put to ſea; and, after various manœvers, the French fleet retire to Boſton.—The American troops retreat from Rhode-Iſland.—The Britiſh fleet return to New-York.—A deſcription of that city, with ſome accidents which happened there.—The Commiſſioners Manifeſto to the ſeveral Colonies.—Some ſucceſsful expeditions of the Britiſh troops, which concludes the campaign.—I embark for Europe; and, in ſome time after, arrive in Great-Britain.

THE departure of the Iſraelites from Egypt was little more precipitate, than that of the Britiſh army out of Philadelphia: for, Sir Henry Clinton, having made every neceſſary diſpoſition for the purpoſe, the troops croſſed the Delaware on the 18th of June 1778; and had juſt got over when the American light cavalry were ſcampering down the ſtreets.—It was confidently aſſerted, that ſeveral Britiſh officers, who had been rather long

in taking leave of their dulcineas, fell into the hands of Waſhington's light troops.——The Commiſſioners having previouſly gone down to the fleet, thoſe who remained to the laſt, went in boats retained for the purpoſe; and were fired upon, to no effect, by ſome of the American ſcouts, who had run down the Pennſylvania ſide of the river.

In the mean time, the Britiſh army, having got ſafe acroſs the Delaware, moved on but very ſlow, on account of their vaſt number of waggons, which occupied almoſt twelve miles of a line; while General Waſhington had diſpatched General Maxwell, with a detachment of troops, to aſſiſt in retarding their progreſs, till he could get up with the main army.

But, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the Britiſh troops forced their way through the ſtrong paſs at Mount-Holly; and, with great difficulty, got as far as Allen's-Town, where they underſtood that Generals Waſhington and Lee, (the latter having been exchanged ſome time before) had croſſed the Delaware, and were to be joined by General Gates, and the Northern army, in order to oppoſe their croſſing the Rariton-river for Staten-Iſland.

In this diſtreſſing ſituation, Sir Henry Clinton determined to puſh on towards Sandy-hook: but on his way to Freehold, he began to underſtand that the enemy were not far diſtant, by the number of light troops, who had made their appearance on his rear.—In conſequence of which, he put the baggage under the command of General Knyphauſen, who moved on, early in the morning of the 28th of June, while he himſelf, with the main army,

reſolved to attack the enemy, who now appeared on both flanks, with an intention to capture the baggage.

But while preparations were making on both ſides, the Britiſh light cavalry had totally routed the American dragoons, upon which their main army retired to Monmouth court-houſe, where they were furiouſly attacked by the Britiſh, when a hot engagement enſued, in which the Americans were routed with conſiderable loſs, and retired behind a marſh, where Sir Henry Clinton found that it would be impoſſible to bring them again to action; and therefore retired to his former poſition, having already loſt a vaſt number of men, beſides the brave Colonel Monkton.

For the Jerſeys being naturally a dry ſandy country, with little or no water, but what is brought up from dug-wells, which were then ſtopped by the inhabitants, before they retired, on the approach of the Britiſh army; and the weather being at that ſeaſon of the year, particularly on that day, moſt intolerably hot, about ſixty men had died with the heat, and extreme thirſt; as no perſon can long exiſt in that country, in the midſt of heat and exerciſe, without having the fluid ſupplied, which is exhauſted by the extraordinary perſpiration.

Immediately after this fatal engagement, General Lee was laid under an arreſt for *diſobedience of orders, and diſreſpect to the commander in chief:* for, it ſeems, that he had been detached on the morning of the engagement, with the advanced army, in order to harraſs the Britiſh till the main body

could get up.—But it appeared, that he had retired with little oppoſition; and was met by General Waſhington, who repremanded him in pretty ſevere terms, in the face of the army, for being ſo eaſily repulſed.—This unprecedented behaviour, extracted from General Lee, two very ſmart letters to the Commander in Chief, for which he was tried by a general court-martial; and being found in part guilty, was "ſuſpended for twelve months, from holding any command in the army of the United States of America."

The Britiſh army having, at laſt, arrived at Sandy-hook, were taken over to New-York, by the fleet, which had got round only the preceding day; and had only been a few days gone from the Delaware, when Count De Eſtaign arrived with a formidable French fleet, upon the coaſt of Virginia; where, having ſtaid ſome little time, he put round and arrived at Sandy-hook, on the 11th of July, to the great conſternation and terror of the inhabitants of New-York, as it was perfectly evident, that there was then no force in the harbour, ſufficient to oppoſe their coming up, and taking poſſeſſion of the place.

As it was an event altogether unexpected, for the Britiſh fleet and army to be thus blocked up by the French, a great many people, as well as myſelf, had the curioſity to go down to Utrecht and Graveſend, upon Long-Iſland, where we had a full view of the number and force of the French fleet, which conſiſted of 12 line of battle ſhips, of great force, and three large frigates; all which

were ſaid to have 11,000 men on board, and had then come to anchor, within four miles of the hook, where they captured a great many veſſels, which not expecting to find ſuch ſtrangers there, had run in among them before they found out their miſtake.

But, while they continued to block up the harbour, and were taking in water, and receiving ſupplies of freſh proviſions, from the inhabitants about Shrewſburgh, the ſpirit of heroiſm and defence broke out to ſuch a degree, among the reſpective crews of the numerous tranſports, and merchant veſſels, which lay at the wharfs of New-York, that, in a few days, better than a thouſand volunteers turned out, in order to defend the place, being almoſt confident, that every following day would bring in Admiral Byron, who had been long expected with a large ſquadron of ſhips, by which the French would have been effectually enclofed between two fires, and conſequently taken.

Having entertained theſe deluſive hopes for ſome time, to no purpoſe, at laſt, on the morning of the 22d of July, the French fleet began to weigh anchor, when it was expected that they were going to attack: but, to the univerſal joy of the inhabitants and army, they put to ſea; and, in a ſhort time, were out of ſight on their way to Rhode-Iſland, where they arrived and blocked up all the inlets to the harbour, beſides running up two ſhips and ſome frigates, almoſt as far as the Fort.

This formidable appearance, immediately obliged General Pigot, who commanded at Rhode-Iſland,

to blow up the King-Fiſher ſloop of war, and ſeveral other veſſels, rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, while he ſecured all the royal frigates, a conſiderable way above the Fort, and made every other preparation for an obſtinate defence.

A few days after the departure of the French fleet from New-York, Admiral Howe was reinforced by the arrival of the Renown, a 50 gun ſhip from the Weſt-Indies; the Raiſonable of 64 guns, and the Centurion of 50 from Hallifax; beſides the Cornwall of 74 guns, being one of Admiral Byron's fleet, which had parted with the reſt in a ſtorm.

His whole force now conſiſting of one 74, ſeven of 64, and five 50 gun ſhips; beſides a great many frigates, and other armed veſſels; being all well manned by volunteers and light infantry, he put to ſea, and ſteered towards Rhode-Iſland, which, by this time, was inveſted by the French fleet, and about 10,000 Americans, under the command of General Sullivan, who had croſſed over, in order to attack, in concert with the French ſhips, which had now gone up as far as the Fort.

At this critical period, Admiral Howe happily appeared on the coaſt, with a pretty numerous fleet, which Count De Eſtaign, either miſtook for Byron's ſquadron, or thought that there was more honour to be acquired, by conquering the Britiſh fleet, than the reduction of Rhode-Iſland; and therefore put to ſea, in purſuit of them, at the very time that the Fort could have been car-

ried, as almoſt all the frigates had been previouſly burned, and the whole force collected within the garriſon.

Admiral Howe being ſenſible of the inferiority of his force to that of the French fleet, which conſiſted moſtly of 80 and 74 gun ſhips, had gone to ſea, where both fleets were ſcattered and greatly damaged by a moſt furious gale, which came up and prevented any general engagement from being effected at that time.—The Langueduc, Count De Eſtaign's own ſhip of 90 guns, having loſt her maſts in the ſquall, was attacked in that ſhattered condition by the Renown of only 50 guns, who notwithſtanding her inferiority of force, after a furious battle, had almoſt made her a prize, when ſome more of the French fleet, hove in ſight, which obliged the Renown to go off, and abandon the enterprize.

Much about the ſame time, the Preſton of 50 guns, commanded by Commodore Hotham, fell in with the Tennant, a French 80 gun ſhip; and, in all probability would have taken her, had not the night put an end to the engagement.—During which, the Iſis of 50 guns was chaſed, and overtaken by a French 74 gun flag-ſhip, ſuppoſed to be the Cæſar, when a hot engagement commenced, which laſted, with great fury, on both ſides; in which time, the Iſis had obtained ſuch a ſuperiority of fire, that the French ſhip found it neceſſary to have recourſe to her ſails, and made off with all expedition; while the Iſis, being much diſabled in her rigging, was in no condition for purſuing.

The Britiſh fleet, having ſuffered a great deal of damage in the ſtorm, were under the neceſſity of returning to New-York, in order to refit; while the French, being alſo conſiderably damaged, returned to Rhode-Iſland, where they only ſtaid a few days, and then ſet off for Boſton, being a place of greater ſafety for repairing their loſs received in the gale, and in the engagement with the before-mentioned ſhips.

In the mean time, General Sullivan continued to throw up works againſt the garriſon of Rhode-Iſland, in full expectation, that the French fleet would return in time to effectuate the reduction of that iſland.

But, Count De Eſtaign, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſolicitation of General Sullivan, did not think proper to undertake an affair of ſuch apparent difficulty, in his then ſhattered condition, which, nevertheleſs gave the Americans, engaged in that expedition, no favourable idea of their new allies, as they had drawn them, by deluſive hopes, into a moſt dangerous enterprize, and there abandoned them, at the very time when ſucceſs might have been effectually obtained.

During theſe apprehenſions and diſcontents, General Sullivan was deſerted by the New-England and Connecticut volunteers, who compoſed a conſiderable part of his army, which obliged him, in that alarming ſituation, to endeavour the preſervation of his army, by the accompliſhment of a general retreat.

He accordingly, on the 22d of Auguſt, began to ſend off his heavy artillery and baggage, and

retired from the works in three days after; at which time, he was vigorouſly purſued, and furiouſly attacked by the troops from the garriſon: notwithſtanding of which, he made good his retreat to the North end of the Iſland, where, being in a place of natural and artificial ſafety, he paſſed over his army to the Continent, on the night of the 30th, only a little before Sir Henry Clinton arrived with ſuch a formidable force, as would have effectually fixed the fate of his troops, had they remained till that time upon the Iſland.

Admiral Howe, having refitted his fleet with all poſſible expedition, again put to ſea in queſt of Count de Eſtaign, who had ſo effectually ſecured his fleet in the harbour of Boſton, as to render an attack to little or no purpoſe. Upon which Lord Howe returned to New-York with the fleet; and, in ſome time after, ſailed for England, being recalled from the chief command in the American ſeas.

While the Britiſh and French fleets had been thus employed, at the game of *hide* and *ſeek*, the army was encamped upon Long-Iſland, at King's-bridge, and about the city of New-York, which was, by this time, ſo over-crammed with additional inhabitants, that a number of families, who had come round from Philadelphia, were obliged to take up their quarters in little temporary huts, without knowing by what means to procure a ſubſiſtance for themſelves and children; while vaſt numbers of perſons, who had been opulent planters and merchants in Virginia, or ſome other of the Colonies, were going about in the greateſt indi-

gence and dejection, occaſioned by the fatal effects of the ill-fated war.

The city of New-York ſtands upon the very extremity of the Iſland of that name, having a fine ſpacious harbour on both ſides and one end, formed by the North and Eaſt Rivers, which ſeparate it from the Jerſeys and Long-Iſland; and are both navigable for ſhips of the largeſt burden.

On the very Point where the two Rivers unite, and form the Bay, ſtands a formidable battery, which the Americans had ſtrongly fortified before its reduction in the year 1776.

The plan of the city of New-York, which was built by the Dutch, is but very confuſed and irregular; having been formed according as chance or circumſtance produced, like moſt of the towns in Europe.—The ſtreets are narrow, and generally very dirty, having only one ſtrand which runs along the middle.—The houſes being moſtly built of wood, with ſome of bricks, are not very handſome, but tolerably taſty in their form.

The principal public buildings are the Governor's houſe, and St. Paul's church; the latter of which is exceeded, in elegance and ſplendor, by few of its kind.

The inhabitants of New-York, owing to their great intercourſe with people of all nations, and their natural candour of diſpoſition, are even ſtill more open and hoſpitable in their manners, than ſome of the other large towns in America.—It is exceedingly charming and agreeable to obſerve the generous and contented ſmile which appears in the ge-

nerality of faces, not only upon the ſtreets, but in all public aſſemblies, or concourſes of people.

This city, which ſuffered ſo ſeverely by fire in the year 1776; again, on the 3d of Auguſt, during my reſidence there, had like to have undergone a total devaſtation, by that very awful and terrifying element: for, about two o'clock in the morning, we were called up by a moſt confuſed and hideous noiſe in the ſtreets, among which we could eaſily perceive the alarming ſcreams of FIRE; and, upon going out, beheld a moſt affecting and melancholly ſcene: The ſtreets were crouded with people bringing up water from the river, and carrying off goods, while women and children were running along, with terror and aſtoniſhment in their faces, having narrowly eſcaped the fury of the flames, which had broke out upon one of the wharfs in the lower part of the city; where the houſes, being moſtly of wood, and, at that ſeaſon of the year, almoſt as dry as tinder, had ſpread along with uncontrollable progreſs, and burned down ſome armed veſſels which lay in the wharfs, whoſe artillery being loaded, roared off with terrifying exploſion.

This fire, for a conſiderable time, ſeemed to baffle the utmoſt exertions of the croud, principally owing to the affectation and arrogance of ſome of the officers of the army, who had taken the fire-engines out of the hands of their proper keepers; and not knowing how to work them themſelves, had rendered thoſe very uſeful machines, in a great meaſure uſeleſs: till at laſt, by uncommon exertions, and with great difficulty, it was put a ſtop to,

after it had burned down about 100 houſes, including a number of military ſtores, with cloathing and other accoutrements for the army.

The devaſtation occaſioned by this furious conflagration, was not only affecting, but exceedingly diſtreſſing; for numbers of families had now loſt their all in the flames, and could ſcarcely procure the protection of a roof.

However, it never could be properly aſcertained, by what means this unhappy accident was occaſioned; although it was generally ſuppoſed to have been done by ſome perſons, diabolically diſpoſed and diſaffected to the Britiſh army.

The commander in chief, being informed of the interruption of the extinction of the flames, next day iſſued a threatning proclamation, prohibiting the officers of the army from medling with the engines, in caſe of a future fire.

The thunder-guſts, frequent in that country, particularly in that ſeaſon of the year, about this time roared with uncommon fury; and, the very day after the fire, ſtruck an ordnance ſloop, which lay in the river, with about 250 barrels of gunpowder on board, and blew up on the ſame inſtant with the thunder-clap: both exploſions forming one of the moſt tremendous roars that poſſibly ever was heard, which had ſuch an effect upon the city, that almoſt all the glaſs-windows were ſhattered to pieces; and St. Paul's church, which ſtands at the upper extremity of the town, was rent from top to bottom.

While the city of New-York, thus ſeemed as if

devoted to deſtruction,—the Commiſſioners finding their propoſals to Congreſs rejected, began to make long and ſolemn appeals to the people at large; entertaining the ſame deluſive and groundleſs opinion with the parliament and people of Great-Britain, "That the bulk of the people of America, were well affected to the Britiſh government; and that the reſt were held in a ſtate of deluſion by Congreſs."

Theſe publications were held in the greateſt contempt by Congreſs, and publiſhed in their Gazette with long comments and reſolves of their own; in which they held forth to the people, "That they could not conſiſtent with their ſolemn treaty with France, accept of the terms offered by the Commiſſioners from Britain; which, at the ſame time, were not to be truſted, as the parliament was under no obligation to ratify their tranſactions; and even if they ſhould, for the time, it would only be the calling of a new parliament to undoe the whole."

It appeared that Governor Johnſtone, in confidence of his former friendſhip to America, had wrote a letter to Henry Laurens, preſident of Congreſs, ſoliciting permiſſion to pay them a private viſit; and hoping, "That they would not follow the example of Great-Britain in her hour of inſolence, but allow him an opportunity of ſeeing the many great characters which America had exhibited."

Henry Laurens returned for anſwer,—"That they were greatly indebted to his former friendſhip; and that nothing would give them greater pleaſure,

than the honour of a perſonal viſit, could it be done conſiſtent with public affairs: and although he had but one vote in Congreſs, yet that ſhould be againſt it."

The Congreſs at laſt, in order effectually to blaſt the character of the Commiſſioners with the people, and as a pretence for not entering upon the negociation of a treaty, thought proper to *reſolve*, "That Governor Johnſtone had attempted to bribe the virtue of Congreſs, by ſoliciting a lady in Philadelphia, to uſe her influence with one Colonel Ried, a member of that body, to accept of a conſiderable ſum from Great-Britain; and that it was therefore incompatible with the dignity and honour of Congreſs, to tranſact any buſineſs with a body of men, connected with ſuch an inſidious perſon."

This immediately brought on a literary war between the Governor and Congreſs; and, in a long and ſpirited remonſtrance, he endeavoured to vindicate himſelf from ſuch aſperſions, by "alledging, that a body of men, who were capable of violating the moſt ſolemn convention, upon the frivolous pretence, that a few catridge-boxes were awanting, were alſo capable of fabricating the groſſeſt falſhoods."—And, in order to remove their pretence, for not entering upon a treaty, he reſigned his commiſſion, obſerving, "That they ſeemed to have no objections to the Earl of Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Eſq."

At laſt, before the Commiſſioners ſhould return to England, in order to leave the Americans inexcuſeable, they drew up a long manifeſto to the

people of the ſeveral Colonies, again adviſing them to accept of the terms of peace, and enforcing their arguments, by long details of the former clemency of Great-Britain; and charging them with the deſolations intended to be carried through that country, as ſince they were to become an acceſſion to France, that Great-Britain would render it as uſeleſs as poſſible to her enemies.

They further aſſured them, that they had no ſuch powers as independence; and that it would be to no purpoſe to procraſtinate their real intentions with any ſuch hopes.—" Alſo declaring, that any particular province, or provinces, who ſhould accede to the terms of reconciliation, ſhould have a full reſtoration of their ancient laws and privileges, never to be taxed by Great-Britain: and, at the ſame time, offering a free and unlimited pardon to every deſcription of perſons, who ſhould be diſpoſed to return to their former allegiance."

Thirteen copies of this manifeſto were ſigned, and ſent to the Aſſemblies of the ſeveral colonies, with forty days to conſider of its contents; but met with the ſame reception as the former addreſſes, while they highly reprobated the inconſiſtency of granting a pardon to thoſe who were, at the ſame time, acknowledged to have never offended, by being offered more advantageous terms, than ever had been aſked, at the time when they were driven to the horrid reſource of going to war.

In the mean time, Lord Cathcart, who, by his great merit in a military capacity, had raiſed himſelf to be firſt Aid-de-camp to the Commander in

Chief, was alſo appointed to the command of a new raiſed legion, conſiſting of ſome more than 1000 cavalry and foot, with whom he bravely routed a numerous body of Americans, who had aſſembled near King's-Bridge, with an intention to attack the out-poſts of the Britiſh encampment.

Much about the ſame time, General Gray went out to Bedford and Fairhaven, where he deſtroyed a number of military ſtores, and about ſeventy ſhips and privateers, beſides blowing up the battery, where he found about eleven pieces of canon, and brought in a large quantity of arms, and live ſtock.

About the beginning of October, Sir Henry Clinton croſſed over to the Jerſeys, with a conſiderable detachment, and arrived at a place called Egg-harbour, a reſort for American privateers, where he deſtroyed a number of ſtores and ſalt-works; and took, and ſent round to New-York, a fine large frigate; while about 250 of his men, ſurprized and totally defeated a party of Americans, under the command of one Count Polaſki, a cruel, active, and enterprizing enemy, who, at this time, had ordered his men to give no quarter; but was now paid in his own coin: for great part of his infantry, and ſome of his principal officers, were put to the bayonet.

Sir Henry Clinton having, in this expedition, deſtroyed a vaſt number of veſſels and ſmall craft, returned to New-York, and began to provide for the accommodation of the troops during the winter.

Although I had lived exceedingly happy, thro' the courſe of the ſummer in New-York, and might have ſtaid there with ſucceſs and comfort; yet as I now deemed myſelf tolerably equipped for returning, with propriety to my native country,—I embarked in a tranſport-fleet for Cork, on board of a large well-manned ſhip, mounting 26 great guns, beſides ſome ſwivels;—and, towards the end of the year 1778, with a mixture of joy and regret, bid a long adieu to the once happy Continent of North America.

In about two weeks after we had left New-York, one morning as we were ſeparated a good way from the fleet, we obſerved, at a great diſtance, a three-maſted ſhip, with all ſail ſet, bearing down upon us, right before the wind.—Upon which our captain determined to riſque an engagement; and immediately the whole crew were in a buſtle in preparing for battle.

The paſſengers were all ſtationed on the quarter-deck, and accoutred with arms to act as marines; while ſome, who had before talked very high, began now to look pale and ſkulk into the hold, but were ſoon chaſed up by the mates, who ſwore that every hand on board ſhould be employed in time of the action.—The ſtrange ſhip, having rapidly advanced, we ſoon obſerved her to be a fine new frigate-built veſſel, mounting 22 great guns, beſides ſwivels.—But ſhe no ſooner obſerved our force, than ſhe altered her courſe, and put away as near to the wind as ſhe could.—We immediately gave chaſe; and, in a little, got within random ſhot, when a ſort of running engagement com-

menced, without effect on either ſide, till ſhe at laſt cut us out of the wind, and got clear off.

Being, by this time, a conſiderable way from the fleet, we were next night terribly alarmed, by the ſecond mate calling down the hatch, that the ſhip was on fire; and having gone upon the deck, we underſtood that it had begun among a parcel of oakum, and was now blazing away in a moſt triumphant manner: but by the activity of the officers and crew, it was at laſt extinguiſhed, to the inexpreſſible joy of all on board.

At length, after a pretty rough paſſage of near five weeks, we arrived at Cork; from whence, by ſeveral ſtages, I got over to Greenock, and immediately proceeded to the pleaſant banks of the river Forth, where I found my friends and relations much in the ſame ſituation, and fully as well as I had left them.

Here I ſhall, in conformity to my plan, conclude this volume; and, with permiſſion, the hiſtory of the war.—The ſubſequent tranſactions being perfectly recent, while its preſent ſituation is ſo apparently myſterious, as to exclude all conjecture, when, or in what manner, it may draw to an end.

F I N I S.